

OLD
WORLD WORTHIES



FROM
"PLUTARCH'S LIVES"





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CLASSICAL BIOGRAPHY.







"The king addressed him in an obliging manner, and asked him 'If there was anything he could serve him in?' 'Only stand a little out of my sunshine,' said Diogenes."—OLD WORLD WORTHIES, Page 104

(Frontispiece.)

24366

Plutarch

OLD WORLD WORTHIES;

OR,

CLASSICAL BIOGRAPHY.

SELECTED FROM

“PLUTARCH’S LIVES.”

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PLUTARCH:

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.



CLASSIC literature contains no biography of its greatest biographer. "Plutarch's Lives" furnish us with the fullest information regarding the heroes of Greece and Rome; but no succeeding writer has recorded a single fact of Plutarch's life. The value of his works led one to say that, if he had to throw all the writings of antiquity into the sea, he would let those of Plutarch be the last. It is cause of regret, therefore, that the life of their author has been lost for ever in the sea of oblivion. Plutarch stands on the confines of antiquity, like a night watchman with his lantern, shedding a lustre round every one towards whom he directs its beams; but remaining himself enshrouded in darkness. A few streaks do indeed stray from the flood of light and cast a faint glimmer on his person. At best only a shadowy outline can be obtained from these scanty glances,—no portrait minute and full like those he has executed.

The place of his birth is known, but the date of it is matter of conjecture. He was born at Chæronea in Bœotia, a little town situated on the mountain spur which guarded the pass from the plains of Bœotia to Phocis and the north,—an appropriate birthplace this for a historian, notwithstanding the unanimous belief of ancient writers that the climate of Bœotia induced stupidity. His playground was on battle-fields, for in the open space in front of the town the Athenians were, in B.C. 447, defeated by the Thebans. On the same plain the Greeks made their final stand against the advance of Philip of Macedon; and a huge monumental lion upon the tomb of the fallen Thebans recorded the sad tale of defeat and slavery. When the Macedonian power was attacked by the Roman, Chæronea was the scene of the struggle. Brutius Sura defeated Archelaus, general to Mithradates, in three engagements near the town; and there, too, Sylla, after a terrible battle, completely routed him. In the life of an old oak tree, which grew upon the plain, one could read the annals of the country throughout its varied epochs. When the Greeks were fighting round Troy it was an acorn shoot: the Athenians and Thebans, in the days of Pericles, saw it a vigorous forest tree: on the night before Philip's great victory, Alexander pitched his tent under the spreading branches of the mighty monarch: when

the Roman legions fought round it, its vigour was gone and its glory departed: and the boy Plutarch saw a green branch still growing from the rotten trunk of "Alexander's oak." From the citadel, perched on the summit of the crag, he looked across the marshy plain to Thebes, with all its historical associations, the ruling city of the state, and the last mistress of independent Greece, after Athens had been crushed by Sparta, and Sparta had succumbed to Thebes. The view in this direction is bounded by the hills which separate Bœotia from Attica, in the passes through which hostile states had often met in conflict. The surroundings of his boyhood had other objects of interest besides battle-fields and tombs, and more pleasing associations than death and degradation. Mythology had peopled the encircling hills,—every summit had its presiding deity, and every fountain its guardian nymph. From Aonia—the poetical name of the region—the muses are called the Aonian maidens. Does it not seem perverse of the ancients to place the muses in a country whose atmosphere, as they believed, would nullify the most potent inspiration the muses could impart to their devotees? It is encouraging to us islanders, who are denied the clear skies of Greece and Italy, to know that genius is not obscured by foggy weather, and that the muses sometimes favoured even Bœotians. Hesiod felt the smiles of

Thalia; Erato favoured Corinna, while Calliope backed her rival Pindar; and Clio feels proud to acknowledge Plutarch.

The family from which Plutarch sprung was one of importance in the little country town of Chæronea. His great-grandfather, Nearchus, was chief magistrate when Antony was master of Greece. It was his painful duty to superintend his fellow-townsmen carrying corn on their backs, like beasts of burden, to the Roman army. When the result of the battle of Actium was announced, the Roman soldiers deserted their camp, and Nearchus promptly distributed the corn among the Chæroneans. Lamprias, his grandfather, who seems to have been a man of very superior abilities, was also a ruler of the town. Although Plutarch frequently alludes to his father, he has never mentioned his name. The following passage, which occurs in his Political Precepts, furnishes a fact in Plutarch's life, and a trait in his father's character:—"I remember," says he, "that I was sent, when a very young man, along with another citizen of Chæronea, on an embassy to the proconsul. My colleague being, by some accident, obliged to stop on the way, I proceeded without him, and executed our commission. Upon my return to Chæronea, when I was to give an account in public of my negociation, my father took me aside, and said, 'My son, take care that, in the

account you are about to give, you do not mention yourself distinctly, but jointly with your colleague. Say not, I went, I spake, I executed; but, we went, we spake, we executed. Thus, though your colleague was incapable of attending you, he will share in the honour of your success, as well as in that of your appointment; and you will avoid that envy which necessarily follows all arrogated merit.'"

The only fact from which we can make any approximation to the date of Plutarch's birth, is found in a remark in one of his own writings, that when Nero was in Greece, he was studying philosophy at Delphi. As Nero visited Greece in A.D. 66, we infer that Plutarch was born about the year 50. Sixteen may seem to us an early age for philosophical studies; but it must be remembered that the years, spent at school and college by our youth in acquiring but a meagre knowledge of Plutarch's mother tongue, would be employed by him in quite other intellectual exercise.

His two brothers, Simon and Lamprias, were his fellow-pupils at Delphi. Their teacher's name was Ammonius; and at his house they met an Athenian youth, Themistocles—a descendant of the famous Themistocles. To what special philosophical sect Ammonius belonged is unknown, but it is surmised that he was an academician. The pupil who has given distinction to the master can scarcely be

classed with any school, unless this circumstance itself should characterise him as an Eclectic. He regarded with favour many of the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato, and wrote certain treatises against the leading tenets of the Stoics and Epicureans.

It is with reluctance that we pass from his studies at Delphi and the date A.D. 66, for it is the only fixed point in his whole life. After finishing his studies he travelled through Greece, Asia-Minor, and Egypt. Plutarch was susceptible to all the benefits which travelling can afford. Although conscious of his proud birthright as a citizen of the most highly civilised nation the world had seen, his mind was not contracted by that conceited patriotism, which had characterised the Greeks in the days of their glorious independence. They then ignored every other nation as too contemptible to be noticed; but the double conquest, first by the Macedonians, and then by the Romans, had compelled them to modify their opinions. The shell of bigoted patriotism was crushed by the iron heel of the conqueror. While there was in Plutarch a sufficient love of country to incline him to favour in his Lives those Romans who had favoured Greece, he was more of a cosmopolitan than almost any other author of antiquity who has given us—not poetic or philosophic musings—but opinions on the transactions of states and the passions of men. With a mind thus

freed from prejudice by the accidents of his birth, and liberalised by a philosophic education, he went forth into the world, visiting in turn every city which had at any time been the leader of Grecian politics, studying their ancient constitutions and the history of their heroes; then passing beyond the confines of Greece he gathered from original sources those stores of historical, philosophical, and biographical knowledge, which render all that he has written so variedly instructive and universally interesting.

It is certain that he visited Rome and resided a considerable time there, but when he went is unknown—probably not until he had attained maturity, for he seems to have set up as a philosophical lecturer, a character incongruous to a youth. That he was well fitted for his calling would appear from what we know of his past education, his mental endowments, and his philosophic writings. The following anecdote shews that he not only had men of distinction for his pupils, but that he inspired them with reverential respect:—"It once happened that when I was speaking in public at Rome, Arulenus Rusticus, the same whom Domitian, through envy of his growing reputation, afterwards put to death, was one of my hearers. When I was in the middle of my discourse, a soldier came in, and brought him a letter from the emperor. Upon this, there was a general silence through the audience,

and I stopped to give him time to peruse this letter ; but he would not suffer it ; nor did he open the letter till I had finished my lecture and the audience was dispersed." He must have lectured in Greek ; for he writes that when in Rome he was too busy to learn Latin, and did not do so till long after he had finally left Italy. As all the educated Romans spoke Greek as well as Latin, this want would be less felt. The substance of these lectures, we imagine, forms his "Treatises on Morals," which he would in all likelihood compose in Rome.

The Emperor Trajan became his friend, and, as many writers allege, his pupil. He is said to have raised Plutarch to the consular dignity,—but this is doubtful, as the honour is nowhere specially recorded, and it was contrary to the practice of the Romans to make foreigners consuls. His residence in Rome was of the greatest importance to him in the compilation of his "Parallel Lives." He would obtain, by conversation with his distinguished friends, much minute personal information regarding the famous men of Rome, which was omitted from the more formal records of the state, and only preserved as family anecdotes. In those days of few books much of the material of history still remained in the form of tradition, even after the histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, and Dionysius had been given to the world.

Enriched with the intellectual spoils of travel, Plutarch returned to the little town of Chæronea, "that it might not be one the less by his absence." He married and had five children, but only his two sons, Plutarch and Lamprias, survived him. Lamprias followed him in the walks of philosophy, and has left us an enumeration of his works; from which it appears that those extant bear but a small proportion to those lost. His "Parallel Lives," upon which his fame mainly rests, consisted of the biographies of nearly all the great statesmen and warriors of antiquity, arranged in pairs—one Grecian and one Roman—for purposes of comparison. His object was not to write history, but lives; not chronicles, but characters; hence a battle or campaign is often more briefly noticed than a brawling feast or friendly interview; because it is the multitude of trifles rather than the few mighty deeds that compose a man's life. In the delineation of character, Plutarch is faithful,—neither magnifying excellences, nor extenuating failings, nor setting down aught in malice. Severe critics of the German school censure his chronological inaccuracy and his old-wife credulity in retailing unauthenticated stories; but, withal, he eminently succeeds in presenting to the reader a vivid idea of the person described.

He was raised to the magistracy of his town, and made priest to Apollo. In the exercise of these

offices, and in the enjoyment of ease and dignity, study and friends, he spent the remaining years of his life, which stretched, it is thought, far into the second century of our era.

It is worthy of remark, that in all his writings there is not a single reference to Christianity, favourable or adverse. We can hardly imagine that his attention never had been attracted to the new religion. When he was a child, Paul of Tarsus first declared the doctrines of the new sect before the Areopagus. It does no great violence to probability to suppose that Ammonius, his teacher, Lamprias, his father, or some one else from Chæronæa, may have mingled with the motley throng of wits, philosophers, and rabble on Mars-hill, and heard the setter forth of strange gods speak of Christ and the resurrection. The visit of Nero to Greece, which he has recorded, was itself not remotely connected with the Christians; for a year or so before that event the imperial butcher had illuminated Rome by burning multitudes of them, on the pretence that they had fired the city. The barbarities of the tyrant sickened even the bloody Romans into commiseration, and disgusted them with their emperor, who wisely departed from Italy that the popular animosity might abate in his absence. How could Plutarch travel through Greece, embark at the Corinthian seaports, visit Ephesus and

the leading towns of Asia-Minor, Egypt, and then spend nearly half-a-century in Rome, and yet never come into contact with the Christians, who were everywhere, and were said already to have turned the world upside down? What knowledge we have of the object of his travel, and the circumstances of his life, increases our wonder that he should have escaped Christianity. One of his favourite subjects of research seems to have been the ecclesiastical establishments and the religious beliefs of mankind. The famous letter of Pliny, governor of Bythinia, to Trajan, requesting directions as to his conduct regarding the Christians, who were so numerous grown in his province that those dependent on the national religion for their livelihood were nearly ruined, came under that emperor's consideration when Plutarch was, if not his preceptor or consul, at least his revered friend and counsellor. The answer which Trajan returned to Pliny was characterised by a moderation and wisdom becoming the directions of a sage legislator, counselled by a benignant philosopher.

Still, however, he has left not the most distant allusion to the Christians; not the slightest trace of any of the distinctive gospel doctrines. His religious beliefs are as exalted as those of any heathen. He held the immortality of the soul. Although a priest of Apollo, he was no polytheist,

for, writing upon the two letters engraved on the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, he translates them: "‘Thou art,’ as if it were, ‘Thou art one.’ I mean not in the aggregate sense; as we say, one army or one body of men, composed of many individuals; but that which exists distinctly must necessarily be one, and the very idea of Being implies individuality. One is that which is a simple Being, free from mixture and composition. To be one, therefore, in this sense, is consistent only with a nature entire in its first principle, and incapable of alteration or decay." His views upon divine sovereignty and man’s free will seem as intelligent and sound as those of the most orthodox theologian. He has written a treatise on that silence of the ancient oracles, to which Milton refers in his "Ode to the Nativity:"

"The oracles are dumb,
 No voice or hideous hum
 Runs through the arch’d roof in words deceiving.
 Apollo, from his shrine,
 Can no more divine,
 With hollow shriek, the steep of Delphos leaving.
 No nightly trance, or breathed spell,
 Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell."

We must ever regret that he was unable to join with Milton in ascribing the silence not to the taciturnity of the gods, but to the fact that

"Our babe, to shew his godhead true,
 Can, in his swaddling bands, controul the damnèd crew."

PREFATORY NOTE.



THE dimensions of this volume necessitated a selection from the fifty Lives which are extant, and also an abbreviation of those selected. This liberty with our author was taken the more freely, as our intention was rather to shew how the ancients lived than how one wrote. In only a single instance has a connecting sentence been inserted; so that, although it is not the whole of Plutarch's work, the whole work is Plutarch's.



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THEMISTOCLES.

BORN B.C. 514—DIED 449.



THE family of Themistocles was too obscure to raise him to distinction. He was the son of Neocles, an inferior citizen of Athens, of the ward of Phrear, and the tribe of Leontis.

It appears that, when a boy, he was full of spirit and fire, quick of apprehension, naturally inclined to bold attempts, and likely to make a great statesman. His hours of leisure and vacation he spent, not like other boys in idleness and play, but he was always inventing and composing declamations—the subjects of which were either the impeachment or defence of some of his schoolfellows: so that his master would often say, “Boy, you will be nothing common or indifferent; you will either be a blessing or a curse to the community.” As for moral philosophy and the polite arts, he learned them but slowly, and with little satisfaction; but instructions in political knowledge, and the administration of public affairs, he received with an attention above his years, because they suited his genius. When, therefore, he

was laughed at, long after, in company where free scope was given to raillery, by persons who passed as more accomplished in what was called genteel breeding, he was obliged to answer them with some asperity: "'Tis true I never learned how to tune a harp, or play upon a lute, but I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness."

Themistocles had an early and violent inclination for public business, and was so strongly smitten with the love of glory, with an ambition of the highest station, that he involved himself in troublesome quarrels with persons of the first rank and influence in the State, particularly with Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who always opposed him. Their enmity began early, but the cause, as Ariston the philosopher relates, was nothing more than their regard for Ptesileus of Teos. After this, their disputes continued about public affairs; and the dissimilarity of their lives and manners naturally added to it. Aristides was of a mild temper and of great probity. He managed the concerns of Government with inflexible justice, not with a view to ingratiate himself with the people, or to promote his own glory, but solely for the advantage and safety of the state. He was, therefore, necessarily obliged to oppose Themistocles, and to prevent his promotion, because he frequently put the people upon unwarrantable enterprises, and was ambitious of introducing great innovations. Indeed, Themistocles was so carried away with the love of glory, so immoderately desirous of distinguishing himself by some great action, that, though he was very young when the battle of Marathon was fought, and when the generalship of Miltiades was everywhere extolled, yet even then he was observed to keep much alone, to be very pensive, to

watch whole nights, and not to attend the usual entertainments. When he was asked the reason by his friends, who wondered at the change, he said, "The trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep." While others imagined the defeat of the Persians at Marathon had put an end to the war, he considered it as the beginning of greater conflicts; and, for the benefit of Greece, he was always preparing himself and the Athenians against those conflicts, because he foresaw them at a distance.

In ambition he had no equal. For when he was yet young, and but little known, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a performer upon the lyre, much valued by the Athenians, to practise at his house; hoping by this means to draw a great number of people thither. And when he went to the Olympic games, he endeavoured to equal or exceed Cimon, in the elegance of his table, the splendour of his pavilions, and other expenses of his train.

The Medes now preparing to invade Greece again, the Athenians considered who should be their general; and many (we are told) thinking the commission dangerous, declined it. But Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a man of more eloquence than courage, and capable withal of being bribed, solicited it, and was likely to be chosen. Themistocles, fearing the consequence would be fatal to the public, if the choice fell upon Epicydes, prevailed upon him by pecuniary considerations to drop his pretensions.

His behaviour is also commended with respect to the interpreter who came with the king of Persia's ambassadors that were sent to demand earth and water. By a decree of the people, he put him to death, for presuming to make use of the Greek language to express the demands of the barbarians. To this we may add, his proceedings in the affair

of Arthmius the Zelite, who, at his motion, was declared infamous, with his children and all his posterity, for bringing Persian gold into Greece. But that which redounded most of all to his honour, was his putting an end to the Grecian wars, reconciling the several States to each other, and persuading them to lay aside their animosities during the war with Persia. In this he is said to have been much assisted by Chileus the Arcadian.

As soon as he had taken the command upon him, he endeavoured to persuade the people to quit the city, to embark on board their ships, and to meet the barbarians at as great a distance from Greece as possible. But, many opposing it, he marched at the head of a great army, together with the Lacedæmonians, to Tempe, intending to cover Thessaly, which had not as yet declared for the Persians. When he returned without effecting anything, the Thessalians having embraced the king's party, and all the country, as far as Bœotia, following their example, the Athenians were more willing to hearken to his proposal to fight the enemy at sea, and sent him with a fleet to guard the straits of Artemisium.

When the fleets of the several States were joined, and the majority were of opinion that Eurybiades should have the chief command, and with his Lacedæmonians began the engagement, the Athenians, who had a greater number of ships than all the rest united, thought it an indignity to part with the place of honour. But Themistocles, perceiving the danger of any disagreement at that time, gave up the command to Eurybiades, and satisfied the Athenians, by representing to them, that, if they behaved like men in the war, the Grecians would voluntarily yield them the superiority for the future. To him, therefore, Greece seems to

owe her preservation, and the Athenians, in particular, the distinguished glory of surpassing their enemies in valour, and their allies in moderation.

The Persian fleet coming up to Aphæta, Eurybiades was astonished at such an appearance of ships, particularly when he was informed that there were two hundred more sailing round Sciathus. He therefore was desirous, without loss of time, to draw nearer to Greece, and to keep close to the Peloponnesian coast, where he might have an army occasionally to assist the fleet ; for he considered the naval force of the Persians as invincible. Upon this, the Eubœans, apprehensive that the Greeks would forsake them, sent Pelagon to negotiate privately with Themistocles, and to offer him a large sum of money. He took the money, and gave it (as Herodotus writes) to Eurybiades.

Though the several engagements with the Persian fleet in the straits of Eubœa were not decisive, yet they were of great advantage to the Greeks, who learned by experience, that neither the number of ships, nor the beauty and splendour of their ornaments, nor the vaunting shouts and songs of the barbarians, have anything dreadful in them to men that know how to fight hand to hand, and are determined to behave gallantly. These things they were taught to despise, when they came to close action and grappled with the foe. In this case Pindar's sentiments appear just, when he says of the fight at Artemisium,

“ ’Twas then that Athens the foundation laid
Of liberty's fair structure.”

Indeed, intrepid courage is the commencement of victory.

The news of what had happened at Thermopylæ being brought to Artemisium, when the confederates were informed that Leonidas was slain there, and Xerxes master of the pas-

sages by land, they sailed back to Greece ; and the Athenians, elated with their late distinguished valour, brought up the rear. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw any harbours or places proper for the enemy's ships to put in at, he took such stones as he happened to find, or caused to be brought thither for that purpose, and set them up in the ports and watering-places, with the following inscription engraved in large characters, and addressed to the Ionians :—" Let the Ionians, if it be possible, come over to the Greeks, from whom they are descended, and who now risk their lives for their liberty. If this be impracticable, let them at least perplex the barbarians, and put them in disorder in time of action." By this he hoped either to bring the Ionians over to his side, or to sow discord among them, by causing them to be suspected by the Persians.

Though Xerxes had passed through Doris down to Phocis, and was burning and destroying the Phocian cities, yet the Greeks sent them no succours. And, notwithstanding all the entreaties the Athenians could use to prevail with the confederates to repair with them into Bœotia, and cover the frontiers of Attica, as *they* had sent a fleet to Artemisium to serve the common cause, no one gave ear to their request. All eyes were turned upon Peloponnesus, and all were determined to collect their forces within the Isthmus, and to build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were greatly incensed to see themselves thus betrayed, and, at the same time, dejected and discouraged at so general a defection. They alone could not think of giving battle to so prodigious an army. To quit the city, and embark on board their ships, was the only expedient at present ; and this the generality were very unwilling to hearken to, as they

could neither have any great ambition for victory, nor idea of safety, when they had left the temples of their gods and the monuments of their ancestors.

Themistocles, perceiving that he could not by the force of human reason prevail with the multitude, set his machinery to work, as a poet would do in a tragedy, and had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The prodigy he availed himself of, was the disappearing of the dragon of Minerva, which at that time quitted the holy place; and the priests finding the daily offerings set before it untouched, gave it out among the people, at the suggestion of Themistocles, that the goddess had forsaken the city, and that she offered to conduct them to sea. Moreover, by way of explaining to the people an oracle then received, he told them that, by "wooden walls," there could not possibly be anything meant but ships; and that Apollo, now calling Salamis "divine," not "wretched" and "unfortunate," as formerly, signified by such an epithet, that it would be productive of some great advantage to Greece. His counsels prevailed, and he proposed a decree, that the city should be left to the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the Athenians; that the young men should go on board the ships; and that every one should provide as well as he possibly could for the safety of the children, the women, and the slaves.

When this decree was made, most of the Athenians removed their parents and wives to Trœzene, where they were received with a generous hospitality. The Trœzenians came to a resolution to maintain them at the public expense, for which purpose they allowed each of them two oboli a day; they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and provided for their education by

paying their tutors. This order was procured by Nica-goras.

As the treasury of Athens was then but low, Aristotle informs us that the court of Areopagus distributed to every man who took part in the expedition, eight drachmas; which was the principal means of manning the fleet. But Clidemus ascribes this also to a stratagem of Themistocles; for he tells us, that when the Athenians went down to the harbour of Piræus, the Ægis was lost from the statue of Minerva; and Themistocles, as he ransacked everything, under pretence of searching for it, found large sums of money hid among the baggage, which he applied to the public use; and out of it all necessities were provided for the fleet.

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. What pity! what admiration of the firmness of those men who, sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries, their tears, or embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the distress, was the number of citizens whom they were forced to leave behind, because of their extreme old age. And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals, which, running to the shore, with lamentable howlings, expressed their affection and regret for the persons that had fed them. One of these, a dog that belonged to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is said to have leapt into the sea, and to have swam by the side of the ship till it reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it died immediately. And they shew us to this day a place called Synos Senia, where they tell us that dog was buried.



"Strike, if you please, but hear me!"—OLD WORLD WORTHIES, Page 9.

Eurybiades, by reason of the dignity of Sparta, had the command of the fleet; but, as he was apprehensive of the danger, he proposed to set sail for the Isthmus, and fix his station near the Peloponnesian army. Themistocles, however, opposed it; and the account we have of the conference on that occasion deserves to be mentioned. When Eurybiades said, "Do not you know, Themistocles, that in the public games, such as rise up before their turn are chastised for it?" "Yes," answered Themistocles; "yet such as are left behind never gain the crown." Eurybiades, upon this, lifting up his staff, as if he intended to strike him, Themistocles said, "Strike, if you please, but hear me." The Lacedæmonians, admiring his command of temper, bade him speak what he had to say; and Themistocles was leading him back to the subject, when one of the officers thus interrupted him: "It ill becomes you, who have no city, to advise us to quit our habitations and abandon our country." Themistocles retorted upon him thus: "Wretch that thou art; we have indeed left our walls and houses, not choosing, for the sake of those inanimate things, to become slaves; yet we have still the most respectable city of Greece in these two hundred ships, which are here ready to defend you, if you will give them leave. But if you forsake and betray us a second time, Greece shall soon find the Athenians possessed of as free a city, and as valuable a country as that which they have quitted." These words struck Eurybiades with the apprehension that the Athenians might fall off from him. We are told also, that as a certain Eretrian was attempting to speak, Themistocles said, "What! have you, too, something to say about war, who are like the fish that has a sword, but no heart?"

While Themistocles was thus maintaining his arguments upon deck, some tell us an owl was seen flying to the right of the fleet, which came and perched upon the shrouds. This omen determined the confederates to accede to his opinion, and to prepare for a sea-fight. But no sooner did the enemy's fleet appear advancing towards the harbour of Phalerus in Attica, and covering all the neighbouring coasts, while Xerxes himself was seen marching his land forces to the shore, than the Greeks, struck with the sight of such prodigious armaments, began to forget the counsel of Themistocles, and the Peloponnesians once more looked towards the Isthmus. Nay, they resolved to set sail that very night, and such orders were given to all the pilots. Themistocles, greatly concerned that the Greeks were going to give up the advantage of their station in the straits, and to retire to their respective countries, contrived that stragem which was put in execution by Sicinus. This Sicinus was of Persian extraction and a captive, but much attached to Themistocles, and the tutor of his children. On this occasion Themistocles sent him privately to the king of Persia, with orders to tell him that the commander of the Athenians, having espoused his interest, was the first to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks, and that he exhorted him not to suffer them to escape ; but, while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land forces, to attack and destroy their whole army.

Xerxes took this information kindly, supposing it to proceed from friendship, and immediately gave orders to his officers, with two hundred ships, to surround all the passages, and to enclose the islands, that none of the Greeks might escape, and then to follow with the rest of the ships at their leisure. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus,

was the first that perceived this motion of the enemy ; and though he was not in friendship with Themistocles, but had been banished by his means—he went to him, and told him they were surrounded by the enemy. Themistocles, knowing his probity, and charmed with his coming to give this intelligence, acquainted him with the affair of Sicinus, and entreated him to lend his assistance to keep the Greeks in their station ; and, as they had a confidence in his honour, to persuade them to come to an engagement in the straits. Aristides approved the proceedings of Themistocles, and going to the other admirals and captains, encouraged them to engage. While they hardly gave credit to his report, a Tenian galley, commanded by Parætiæus, came over from the enemy to bring the same account ; so that indignation, added to necessity, excited the Greeks to their combat.

As soon as it was day, Xerxes sat down on an eminence to view the fleet and its order of battle. As to the number of the Persian ships, the poet Æschylus speaks of it, in his tragedy entitled “*Persæ*,” as a matter he was well assured of:—

“A thousand ships (for well I know the number)
The Persian flag obey’d : two hundred more
And seven, o’erspread the seas.”

The Athenians had only one hundred and eighty galleys ; each carried eighteen men that fought upon deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy armed.

If Themistocles was happy in choosing a place for action, he was no less so in taking advantage of a proper time for it ; for he would not engage the enemy till that time of day when a brisk wind usually arises from the sea, which occasions a high surf in the channel. This was no inconve-

nience to the Grecian vessels, which were low built and well compacted ; but a very great one to the Persian ships, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy ; for it caused them to veer in such a manner that their sides were exposed to the Greeks, who attacked them furiously. During the whole dispute great attention was given to the motions of Themistocles, as it was believed he knew best how to proceed. Ariamenes, the Persian admiral, a man of distinguished honour, and by far the bravest of the king's brothers, directed his manœuvres chiefly against him. His ship was very tall, and from thence he threw darts, and shot forth arrows as from the walls of a castle. But Aminias the Decelean, and Sosicles the Pedian, who sailed in one bottom, bore down upon him with their prow, and both ships meeting, they were fastened together by means of their brazen beaks ; when, Ariamenes boarding their galley, they received him with their pikes, and pushed him into the sea. Artemisia knew the body amongst others that were floating with the wreck, and carried it to Xerxes.

The first man that took a ship was an Athenian named Lycomedes, captain of a galley, who cut down the ensigns from the enemy's ship, and consecrated them to the laurelled Apollo. As the Persians could come up in the straits but a few at a time, and often put each other in confusion, the Greeks, equalling them in the line, fought them till the evening, when they broke them entirely, and gained that signal and complete victory, than which (as Simonides says) no other naval achievement, either of the Greeks or barbarians, ever was more glorious. This success was owing to the valour, indeed, of all the confederates, but chiefly to the sagacity and conduct of Themistocles.

He then sent one of the king's eunuchs, whom he found

among the prisoners, Arnaces by name, to acquaint him, "That the Greeks, since their victory at sea, were determined to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, in care for the king's safety, advised him to hasten towards his own seas, and pass over into Asia, while his friend endeavoured to find out pretences of delay, to prevent the confederates from pursuing him." Xerxes, terrified at the news, retired with the greatest precipitation. How prudent the management of Themistocles was, Mardonius afforded a proof, when, with a small part of the king's forces, he put the Greeks in extreme danger of losing all, in the battle of Plataea.

Herodotus tells us that, among the cities, Ægina bore away the palm; but among the commanders, Themistocles, in spite of envy, was universally allowed to have distinguished himself most. For, when they came to the Isthmus, and every officer took a billet from the altar, to inscribe upon it the names of those that had done the best service, every one put himself in the first place, and Themistocles in the second. The Lacedæmonians, having conducted him to Sparta, adjudged Eurybiades the prize of valour, and Themistocles that of wisdom, honouring each with a crown of olive. They likewise presented the latter with the handsomest chariot in the city, and ordered three hundred of their youth to attend him to the borders. At the next Olympic games, too, we are told that, as soon as Themistocles appeared in the ring, the champions were overlooked by the spectators, who kept their eyes upon him all the day, and pointed him out to strangers with the utmost admiration and applause. This incense was extremely grateful to him; and he acknowledged to his friends that he then reaped the fruit of his labours for Greece.

Indeed, he was naturally very ambitious, if we may form a conclusion from his memorable acts and sayings.

For, when elected admiral by the Athenians, he would not despatch any business, whether public or private, singly, but put off all affairs to the day he was to embark, that having a great deal to do, he might appear with the greatest dignity and importance.

One day, as he was looking upon the dead bodies cast up by the sea, and saw a number of chains of gold and bracelets upon them, he passed by them, and turning to his friend, said, "Take these things for yourself, for you are not Themistocles."

When one of Seriphus told him, "He was not so much honoured for his own sake, but for his country's." "True," answered Themistocles, "for neither should I have been greatly distinguished if I had been of Seriphus, nor you, if you had been an Athenian."

Another officer, who thought he had done the state some service, setting himself up against Themistocles, and venturing to compare his own exploits with his, he answered him with this fable, "There once happened a dispute between the 'feast day' and the 'day after the feast':—Says the 'day after the feast,' I am full of bustle and trouble, whereas, with you, folks enjoy, at their ease, everything ready provided. You say right, says the 'feast day,' but if I had not been before you, you would not have been at all. So, had it not been for me, then, where would you have been now?"

His son, being master of his mother, and by her means of him, he said, laughing, "this child is greater than any man in Greece; for the Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands his mother."

As he loved to be particular in everything, when he happened to sell a farm, he ordered the crier to add, "that it had a good neighbour."

Two citizens, courting his daughter, he preferred the worthy man to the rich one, and assigned this reason, "He had rather she should have a man without money, than money without a man." Such was the pointed manner in which he often expressed himself.

After the great actions we have related, his next enterprise was to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens. Theopompus tells us, he bribed the Lacedæmonian Ephori, that they might not oppose it; but most historians say, he overreached them. He was sent, it seems, on pretence of an embassy to Sparta. The Spartans complained, that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and the governor of Ægina, who was come for that purpose, supported the accusation. But Themistocles absolutely denied it, and challenged them to send proper persons to Athens to inspect the walls; at once gaining time for finishing them, and contriving to have hostages at Athens for his return. The event answered his expectation. For the Lacedæmonians, when assured how the fact stood, dissembled their resentment, and let him go with impunity.

After this, he built and fortified the Piræus (having observed the conveniency of that harbour.) By which means he gave the city every maritime accommodation.

He disoblged the allies, by sailing round the islands, and extorting money from them; as we may conclude from the answer which Herodotus tells us the Adrians gave him to a demand of that sort. He told them, "He brought two gods along with him, 'Persuasion' and 'Force.'" They replied, "They had also two great gods on their

side, 'Poverty' and 'Despair,' who forbade them to satisfy him."

As the Athenians, through envy, readily gave ear to calumnies against him, he was often forced to recount his own services, which rendered him still more insupportable ; and when they expressed their displeasure, he said, "Are you weary of receiving benefits often from the same hand?"

At last the Athenians, unable any longer to bear that high distinction in which he stood, banished him by the ostracism ; and this was nothing more than they had done to others whose power was become a burden to them, and who had risen above the equality which a commonwealth requires ; for the ostracism, or ten years' banishment, was not so much intended to punish this or that great man, as to pacify and mitigate the fury of Envy, who delights in the disgrace of superior characters, and loses a part of her rancour by their fall.

Epicrates, the Acarnanian, found means to convey the wife and children of Themistocles out of Athens, and sent them to him ; for which Cimon afterwards condemned him and put him to death. The greatest part of his treasures was privately sent after him to Asia by his friends. What was discovered and seized for the public use, Theopompus says, amounted to a hundred talents ; Theophrastus four-score ; though he was not worth three talents before his employments in the government.

When he was landed at Cuma, he understood that a number of people, particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, were watching to take him. He was, indeed, a rich booty to those that were determined to get money by any means whatever ; for the king of Persia had offered by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him.

Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus relate that Xerxes was then dead, and that it was to his son Artaxerxes that Themistocles addressed himself. But Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and several others, write that Xerxes himself was then upon the throne. The opinion of Thucydides seems most agreeable to chronology, though that is not perfectly well settled. Themistocles, now ready for the dangerous experiment, applied first to Artabanus, a military officer, and told him, "He was a Greek, who desired to have audience of the king about matters of great importance, which the king himself had much at heart." Artabanus answered, "The laws of men are different ; some esteem one thing honourable, and some another ; but it becomes all men to honour and observe the customs of their own country. With you, the thing most admired is said to be liberty and equality. We have many excellent laws ; and we regard it as one of the most indispensable, to honour the king, and to adore him as the image of that deity who preserves and supports the universe. If, therefore, you are willing to conform to our customs, and to prostrate yourself before the king, you may be permitted to see him and speak to him. But if you cannot bring yourself to this, you must acquaint him with your business by a third person. It would be an infringement of the custom of his country, for the king to admit any one to audience that does not worship him." To this Themistocles replied, "My business, Artabanus, is to add to the king's honour and power ; therefore, I will comply with your customs, since the god that has exalted the Persians will have it so ; and by my means the number of the king's worshippers shall be increased. So let this be no hindrance to my communicating to the king what I have to say." "But who," said Artabanus,

banus, "shall we say you are? for by your discourse you appear to be no ordinary person." Themistocles answered, "Nobody must know that before the king himself." So Phanias writes; and Eratosthenes, in his treatise on riches, adds, that Themistocles was brought acquainted with Artabanus, and recommended to him by an Eretrian woman, who belonged to that officer.

When he was introduced to the king, and, after his prostration, stood silent, the king commanded the interpreter to ask him who he was. The interpreter accordingly put the question, and he answered, "The man that is now come to address himself to you, oh king, is Themistocles the Athenian; an exile persecuted by the Greeks. The Persians have suffered much by me, but it has been more than compensated by my preventing your being pursued; when after I had delivered Greece, and saved my own country, I had it in my power to do you also a service. My sentiments are suitable to my present misfortunes, and I come prepared either to receive your favour, if you are reconciled to me, or, if you retain any resentment, to disarm it by my submission. Reject not the testimony my enemies have given to the services I have done the Persians, and make use of the opportunity my misfortunes afford you, rather to shew your generosity than to satisfy your revenge. If you save me, you save your suppliant; if you destroy me, you destroy the enemy of Greece." In hopes of influencing the king by an argument drawn from religion, Themistocles added to this speech an account of the vision he had in Nicogenes's house, and an oracle of Jupiter of Dodona, which ordered him "to go to one who bore the same name with the god;" from which he concluded he was sent to him, since both were called, and really were, "great kings."

The king gave him no answer, though he admired his courage and magnanimity ; but, with his friends, he felicitated himself upon this, as the most fortunate event imaginable. We are also told, that he prayed to Arimanius, that his enemies might ever be so infatuated as to drive from amongst them their ablest men ; that he offered sacrifice to the gods ; and immediately after made a great entertainment ; nay, that he was so affected with joy, that when he retired to rest, in the midst of his sleep, he called out three times, "I have Themistocles the Athenian."

As soon as it was day, he called together his friends, and ordered Themistocles to be brought before him. The exile expected no favour, when he found that the guards, at the first hearing of his name, treated him with rancour, and loaded him with reproaches. Nay, when the king had taken his seat, and a respectful silence ensued, Roxanes, one of his officers, as Themistocles passed him, whispered him with a sigh, "Ah ! thou subtle serpent of Greece, the king's good genius has brought thee hither." However, when he had prostrated himself twice in the presence, the king saluted him, and spoke to him graciously, telling him, "He owed him two hundred talents ; for, as he had delivered himself up, it was but just that he should receive the reward offered to any one that should bring him." He promised him much more, assured him of his protection, and ordered him to declare freely whatever he had to propose concerning Greece. Themistocles replied, "That a man's discourse was like a piece of tapestry which, when spread open, displays its figures ; but when it is folded up, they are hidden and lost ; therefore he begged time." The king delighted with the comparison, bade him take what time he pleased ; and he desired a year : in which space he

learned the Persian language, so as to be able to converse with the king without an interpreter.

Such as did not belong to the court, believed that he entertained their prince on the subject of the Grecian affairs ; but as there were then many changes in the ministry, he incurred the envy of the nobility, who suspected that he had presumed to speak too freely of them to the king. The honours that were paid him were far superior to those that other strangers had experienced ; the king took him with him a-hunting, conversed familiarly with him in his palace, and introduced him to the queen mother, who honoured him with her confidence. He likewise gave orders for his being instructed in the learning of the Magi.

Demaratus, the Lacedæmonian, who was then at court, being ordered to ask a favour, desired that he might be carried through Sardis in royal state, with a diadem upon his head. But Mithropaustes, the king's cousin-german, took him by the hand, and said, "Demaratus, this diadem does not carry brains along with it to cover ; nor would you be Jupiter, though you should take hold of his thunder." The king was highly displeased at Demaratus for making this request, and seemed determined never to forgive him ; yet at the desire of Themistocles, he was persuaded to be reconciled to him. And in the following reigns, when the affairs of Persia and Greece were more closely connected, as oft as the kings requested a favour of any Grecian captain, they are said to have promised him in express terms, "That he should be a greater man at their court than Themistocles had been." Nay we are told, that Themistocles himself, in the midst of his greatness, and the extraordinary respect that was paid him, seeing his table most elegantly spread, turned to his children and said, "Children, we should have

been undone, had it not been for our undoing." Most authors agree, that he had three cities given him, for bread, wine, and meat,—Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus.

He did not travel about Asia, as Theopompus says, but took up his abode at Magnesia ; where loaded with valuable presents, and equally honoured with the Persian nobles, he long lived in great security ; for the king, who was engaged in the affairs of the upper provinces, gave but little attention to the concerns of Greece.

But when Egypt revolted, and was supported in that revolt by the Athenians, when the Grecian fleet sailed as far as Cyprus and Celicia, and Cimon rode triumphant master of the seas, then the king of Persia applied himself to oppose the Greeks, and to prevent the growth of their power. He put his forces in motion, sent out his generals, and despatched messengers to Themistocles at Magnesia, to command him to perform his promises, and exert himself against Greece. Did he not obey the summons then?—No—neither resentment against the Athenians, nor the honours and authority in which he now flourished, could prevail upon him to take the direction of the expedition. Possibly he might doubt the event of the war, as Greece had then several great generals : and Cimon in particular was distinguished with extraordinary success. Above all, regard for his own achievements, and the trophies he had gained, whose glory he was unwilling to tarnish, determined him (as the best method he could take) to put such an end to his life as became his dignity. Having, therefore, sacrificed to the gods, assembled his friends, and taken his last leave, he drank bulls' blood, as is generally reported ; or, as some relate it, he took a quick poison, and ended his days at Magnesia, having lived sixty-five years, most of which he had spent in

civil or military employments. When the king was acquainted with the cause and manner of his death, he admired him more than ever, and continued his favour and bounty to his friends and relations.

The Magnesians erected a very handsome monument to him, which still remains in the market-place.

PERICLES.

BORN B.C. 499—DIED 429.



PERICLES was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens, both by the father and mother's side. His father, Xanthippus, who defeated the King of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste, the niece of Clisthenes, who expelled the family of Pisistratus, abolished the tyranny, enacted laws, and established a form of government tempered in such a manner as tended to unanimity among the people, and the safety of the state. His person in other respects was well turned, but his head was disproportionably long. For this reason almost all his statues have the head covered with a helmet, the statuaries choosing, I suppose, to hide that defect. Cratinus, the comic writer, in his play called *Chirones*, has this passage :—

“Faction received old Time to her embraces :
Hence came a tyrant-spawn, on earth called Pericles,
In heaven the Head-compeller.”

And Teleclides says,—

“Now, in a maze of thought, he ruminates
On strange expedients, while his head, depressed
With its own weight, sinks on his knees : and now
From the vast caverns of his brain burst forth
Storms and fierce thunders.”

Pericles, in his youth, stood in great fear of the people. For in his countenance he was like Pisistratus the tyrant ; and he perceived the old men were much struck by a farther resemblance in the sweetness of his voice, the volubility of his tongue, and the roundness of his periods. As he was, moreover, of a noble family and opulent fortune, and his friends were the most considerable men in the state, he dreaded the ban of ostracism, and therefore intermeddled not with state affairs, but behaved with great courage and intrepidity in the field. However, when Aristides was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon much employed in expeditions at a distance from Greece, Pericles engaged in the administration. He chose rather to solicit the favour of the multitude and the poor, than of the rich and the few, contrary to his natural disposition, which was far from inclining him to court popularity.

It seems he was apprehensive of falling under the suspicion of aiming at the supreme power, and was sensible, besides, that Cimon was attached to the nobility, and extremely beloved by persons of the highest eminence ; and, therefore, in order to secure himself, and to find resources against the power of Cimon, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people. At the same time, he entirely changed his manner of living. He appeared not in the streets, except when he went to the forum or the senate house. He declined the invitations of his friends, and all social entertainments and recreations ; insomuch, that in the whole time of his administration, which was a considerable length, he never went to sup with any of his friends but once, which was at the marriage of his nephew Eurypotemus, and he stayed there only until the ceremony of libation was ended. He considered that the freedom of

entertainments takes away all distinction of office, and that dignity is but little consistent with familiarity. Real and solid virtue, indeed, the more it is seen, the more glorious it appears ; and there is nothing in a good man's conduct, as a magistrate, so great in the eye of the public, as is the general course of his behaviour in private to his most intimate friends. Pericles, however, took care not to make his person cheap among the people, and appeared among them only at proper intervals. Nor did he speak on all points that were debated before them, but reserved himself, like the Salimian galley, (as Critolaus says,) for greater occasions, despatching business of less consequence by other orators with whom he had an intimacy. One of these, we are told, was Ephialtes, who, according to Plato, overthrew the power of the council of Areopagus, by giving the citizens a large and intemperate draught of liberty. On which account the comic writers speak of the people of Athens as of a horse wild and unmanaged,—

“Which listens to the reins no more,
But in his maddening course bears headlong down
The very friends that feed him.”

Pericles, desirous to make his language a proper vehicle for his sublime sentiments, and to speak in a manner that became the dignity of his life, availed himself greatly of what he had learned of Anaxagoras ; adorning his eloquence with the rich colours of philosophy. For, adding, (as the divine Plato expresses it,) the loftiness of imagination, and all-commanding energy with which philosophy supplied him, to his native powers of genius, and making use of whatever he found to his purpose, in the study of nature, to dignify the art of speaking, he far excelled all other orators. Hence he is said to have gained the sur-

name of Olympius, though some will have it to have been from the edifices with which he adorned the city, and others from his high authority both in peace and war. There appears, indeed, no absurdity in supposing that all these things might contribute to that glorious distinction. Yet the strokes of satire, both serious and ludicrous, in the comedies of those times, indicate that this title was given him chiefly on account of his eloquence. For they tell us that in his harangues he thundered and lightened, and that his tongue was armed with thunder. Thucydides, the son of Miliesius, is said to have given a pleasant account of the force of his eloquence. Thucydides was a great and respectable man, who for a long time opposed the measures of Pericles: and when Archidamus, one of the kings of Lacedæmon asked him, "Which was the best wrestler, Pericles, or he?" he answered, "When I throw him, he says he was never down, and he persuades the very spectators to believe so."

Thucydides represents the administration of Pericles as favouring aristocracy, and tells us that, though the government was called democratical, it was really in the hands of one who had engrossed the whole authority. Many other writers likewise inform us, that by him the people were first indulged with a division of lands, were treated, at the public expense, with theatrical diversions, and were paid for the most common services to the state. As this new indulgence from the government was an impolitic custom, which rendered the people expensive and luxurious, and destroyed that frugality and love of labour which supported them before, it is proper that we should trace the effect to its cause, by a retrospect into the circumstances of the republic.

At first, as we have observed, to raise himself to some sort of equality with Cimon, who was then at the height of glory, Pericles made his court to the people. And as Cimon was his superior in point of fortune, which he employed in relieving the poor Athenians, in providing victuals every day for the necessitous, and clothing the aged ; and besides this, levelled his fences with the ground, that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit ; Pericles had recourse to the expedient of dividing the public treasure ; which scheme, as Aristotle informs us, was proposed to him by Demonides of Jos. Accordingly, by supplying the people with money for the public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of judicature, and by other pensions and gratuities, he so inveigled them as to avail himself of their interest against the council of the Areopagus, of which he had no right to be a member, having never had the fortune to be chosen *archon*, *thesmothetes*, *king of the sacred rites*, or *polemarch*. For persons were of old appointed to these offices by lot ; and such as had discharged them well, and such only were admitted as judges in the Areopagus. Pericles, therefore, by his popularity raised a party against that council, and, by means of Ephialtes, took from them the cognisance of many causes that had been under their jurisdiction. He likewise caused Cimon to be banished by the ostracism, as an enemy to the people and a friend to the Lacedæmonians ; a man who in birth and fortune had no superior, who had gained very glorious victories over the barbarians, and filled the city with money and other spoils. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by ostracism, was limited by law to ten years. Meantime, the Lacedæ-

dæmonians with a great army entered the territory of Tanagra, and the Athenians immediately marching out against them, Cimon returned, and placed himself in the ranks with those of his tribe, intending by his deeds to wipe off the aspersion of favouring the Lacedæmonians, and to venture his life with his countrymen; but by a combination of the friends of Pericles he was repulsed as an exile. This seems to have been the cause that Pericles exerted himself in a particular manner in that battle, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers. All Cimon's friends, whom Pericles had accused as accomplices in his pretended crime, fell honourably that day together: and the Athenians, who were defeated upon their own borders, and expected a still sharper conflict in the summer, grievously repented of their treatment of Cimon, and longed for his return. Pericles, sensible of the people's inclinations, did not hesitate to gratify them, but himself proposed a decree for recalling Cimon, and at his return, a peace was agreed upon through his mediation. For the Lacedæmonians had a particular regard for him, as well as aversion to Pericles and the other demagogues.

Shortly afterwards died Cimon, in the expedition to Cyprus. And the nobility, perceiving that Pericles was now arrived at a height of authority which set him far above the other citizens, were desirous of having some person to oppose him, who might be capable of giving a check to his power, and of preventing his making himself absolute. For this purpose they set up Thucydides, of the ward of Alopece, a man of great prudence, and brother-in-law to Cimon. He had not, indeed, Cimon's talents for war, but was superior to him in forensic and political abilities; and, by residing constantly in Athens,

and opposing Pericles in the general assembly, he soon brought the government to an equilibrium. For he did not suffer persons of superior rank to be dispersed and confounded with the rest of the people, because in that case their dignity was obscured and lost, but collected them into a separate body, by which means their authority was enhanced, and sufficient weight thrown into their scale. There was, indeed, from the beginning, a kind of doubtful separation, which, like the flaws in a piece of iron, indicated that the aristocratical party and that of the commonalty were not perfectly one, though they were not actually divided ; but the ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, and the contest between them, had so extraordinary an effect upon the city, that it was quite broken in two, and one part was called the people, and the other the nobility. For this reason, Pericles, more than ever, gave the people the reins, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with them, contriving always to have some show, or play, or feast, or procession in the city, and to amuse it with the politest pleasures.

That which was the chief delight of the Athenians and the wonder of strangers, and which alone serves for a proof that the boasted power and opulence of ancient Greece is not an idle tale, was the magnificence of the temples and public edifices. Yet no part of the conduct of Pericles moved the spleen of his enemies more than this. In their accusations of him to the people, they insisted "that he had brought the greatest disgrace upon the Athenians by removing the public treasures of Greece from Delos and taking them into his own custody. That he had not left himself even the specious apology, of having caused the money to be brought to Athens for its greater security, and to keep it from being seized by the barbarians : that Greece

must needs consider it as the highest insult, and an act of open tyranny, when she saw the money she had been obliged to contribute towards the war, lavished by the Athenians in gilding their city, and ornamenting it with statues, and temples that cost a thousand talents, as a proud and vain woman decks herself out with jewels." Pericles answered this charge by observing, "that they were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums they had received, since they had kept the barbarians at a distance, and effectually defended the allies, who had not furnished either horses, ships, or men, but only contributed money, which is no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, if he performs the conditions on which it is received. That as the state was provided with all the necessities of war, its superfluous wealth should be laid out on such works as, when executed, would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their execution, would diffuse a universal plenty ; for as so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost the whole city would be in pay, and be at the same time both adorned and supported by itself."

Phidias was appointed by Pericles superintendent of all the public edifices, though the Athenians had then other eminent architects and excellent workmen. The Parthenon, or temple of Pallas, whose dimensions had been a hundred feet square, was rebuilt by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corœbus began the temple of Initiation at Eleusis, but only lived to finish the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes, of the ward of Xypete, added the rest of the entablature, and the upper row of columns ; and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall,

the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work as proceeding very slowly :

“ Stones upon stones the orator has piled
With swelling words, but words will build no walls.”

The orators of Thucydides's party raised a clamour against Pericles, asserting that he wasted the public treasure and brought the revenue to nothing. Pericles in his defence asked the people in full assembly, “ Whether they thought he had expended too much.” Upon their answering in the affirmative ; “ Then be it,” said he, “ charged to my account, not yours : only let the new edifices be inscribed with my name, not that of the people of Athens.” Whether it was that they admired the greatness of his spirit, or were ambitious to share the glory of such magnificent works, they cried out, “ That he might spend as much as he pleased of the public treasure, without sparing it in the least.”

At last the contest came on between him and Thucydides, which of them should be banished by the ostracism ; Pericles gained the victory, banished his adversary, and entirely defeated his party. The opposition now being at an end, and unanimity taking place amongst all ranks of people, Pericles became sole master of Athens and its dependencies. The revenue ; the army and navy ; the islands and the sea ; a most extensive territory, peopled by barbarians as well as Greeks, fortified with the obedience of subject nations, the friendship of kings, and alliance of princes, were all at his command.

From this time he became a different man : he was no longer so obsequious to the humour of the populace, which is as wild and as changeable as the winds. The multitude were not indulged or courted ; the government, in fact, was

not popular ; its loose and luxuriant harmony was confined to stricter measures, and it assumed an aristocratical or rather monarchical form. He kept the public good in his eye, and pursued the straight path of honour. For the most part gently leading them by argument to a sense of what was right, and sometimes forcing them to comply with what was for their own advantage ; in this respect imitating a good physician, who in the various symptoms of a long disease, sometimes administers medicines tolerably agreeable, and, at other times, sharp and strong ones, when such alone are capable of restoring the patient. He was the man that had the art of controlling those many disorderly passions which necessarily spring up amongst a people possessed of so extensive a dominion. Money could not bribe him ; he was so much above the desire of it, that though he added greatly to the opulence of the state, which he found not inconsiderable, and though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom have bequeathed to their posterity the sovereignty they had obtained, yet he added not one drachma to his paternal estate.

By this time the Lacedæmonians began to express some jealousy of the Athenian greatness, and Pericles, willing to advance it still higher, and to make the people more sensible of their importance and more inclinable to great attempts, procured an order, that all the Greeks, where-soever they resided, whether in Europe or in Asia, whether their cities were small or great, should send deputies to Athens to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples which the barbarians had burned, and about providing those sacrifices which had been vowed during the Persian war, for the preservation of Greece ; and likewise to enter into

such measures as might secure navigation and maintain the peace.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Chersonesus procured him most honour, because it proved very salutary to the Greeks who dwelt there. For he not only strengthened their cities with the addition of a thousand able-bodied Athenians, but raised fortifications across the Isthmus from sea to sea ; thus guarding against the incursions of the Thracians who were spread about the Chersonesus, and putting an end to those long and grievous wars under which that district had smarted, by reason of the neighbourhood of the barbarians, as well as to the robberies with which it had been infested by persons who lived upon the borders, or were inhabitants of the country. But the expedition most celebrated among strangers, was that by sea around Peloponnesus. He set sail from Pegæ, in the territories of Megara, with a hundred ships of war, and not only ravaged the maritime cities, as Tolmides had done before him, but landed his forces, and penetrated a good way up the country. The terror of his arms drove the inhabitants into their walled towns, all but the Sicyonians, who made head against him at Memea, and were defeated in a pitched battle ; in memory of which victory he erected a trophy. From Achaia, a confederate state, he took a number of men into his galleys, and sailed to the opposite side of the continent ; then passing by the mouth of the Achelous, he made a descent in Acarnania, shut up the Oeneadæ within their walls, and having laid waste the country, returned home. In the whole course of this affair he appeared terrible to his enemies, and to his countrymen an active and prudent commander ; for no miscarriage was committed, nor did even any unfortunate accident happen during the whole time.

Soon after this, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians having agreed upon a truce for thirty years, Pericles caused a decree to be made for an expedition against Samos. The pretence he made use of was that the Samians, when commanded to put an end to the war with the Milesians, had refused it. But as he seems to have entered upon this war merely to gratify Aspasia, it may not be amiss to inquire by what art or power she captivated the greatest statesman, and brought even philosophers to speak of her so much to her advantage.

It is agreed that she was by birth a Milesian, and the daughter of Axiochus. She is reported to have trod in the steps of Thargelia, who was descended from the ancient Ionians, and to have reserved her intimacies for the great. This Thargelia, who to the charms of her person added a peculiar politeness and poignant wit, had many lovers among the Greeks, and drew over to the king of Persia's interest all that approached her; by whose means, as they were persons of eminence and authority, she sowed the seeds of the Median faction among the Grecian states.

Some, indeed, say that Pericles made his court to Aspasia only on account of her wisdom and political abilities. Nay, even Socrates himself sometimes visited her along with his friends; and her acquaintance took their wives with them to hear her discourse, though the business that supported her was neither honourable nor decent, for she kept a number of courtezans in her house. Æschines informs us that Lysicles, who was a grazier, and of a mean, ungenerous disposition, by his intercourse with Aspasia after the death of Pericles, became the most considerable man in Athens. And though Plato's Menexenus in the beginning is rather humourous than serious, yet thus much of history we may

gather from it, that many Athenians resorted to her on account of her skill in the art of speaking.

I should not, however, think that the attachment of Pericles was of so very delicate a kind. For, though his wife, who was his relation, and had been first married to Hipponicus, by whom she had Callius the rich, brought him two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus, yet they lived so ill together that they parted by consent. She was married to another, and he took Aspasia, for whom he had the tenderest regard, insomuch that he never went out upon business or returned without saluting her.

I now return to the Samian war, which Pericles is much blamed for having promoted, in favour of the Milesians, at the instigation of Aspasia. The Milesians and Samians had been at war for the city of Priene, and the Samians had the advantage, when the Athenians interposed, and ordered them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of the dispute to them; but the Samians refused to comply with this demand. Pericles therefore sailed with a fleet to Samos, and abolished the oligarchical form of government. He then took fifty of the principal men, and the same number of children, as hostages, and sent them to Lemnos. Each of these hostages, we are told, offered him a talent for his ransom; and those that were desirous to prevent the settling of a democracy among them would have given him much more. Pissuthnes, the Persian, who had the interest of the Samians at heart, likewise sent him ten thousand pieces of gold, to prevail upon him to grant them more favourable terms. Pericles, however, would receive none of their presents, but treated the Samians in the manner he had resolved on; and having established a popular government in the island, he returned to Athens.

But they soon revolted again, having recovered their hostages by some private measure of Pissuthnes, and made new preparations for war. Pericles coming with a fleet to reduce them once more, found them not in a posture of negligence or despair, but determined to contend with him for the dominion of the sea. A sharp engagement ensued near the isle of Tragia, and Pericles gained a glorious victory, having with forty-four ships defeated seventy, twenty of which had soldiers on board.

After nine months the Samians surrendered. Pericles razed their walls, seized their ships, and laid a heavy fine upon them, part of which they paid down directly, the rest they promised at a set time, and gave hostages for the payment.

Pericles, at his return to Athens, after the reduction of Samos, celebrated in a splendid manner the obsequies of his countrymen who fell in that war, and pronounced himself the funeral oration usual on such occasions. This gained him great applause; and, when he came down from the rostrum, the women paid their respects to him, and presented him with crowns and chaplets, like a champion just returned victorious from the lists. Only Elpinice addressed him in terms quite different: "Are these actions, then, Pericles, worthy of crowns and garlands, which have deprived us of many brave citizens, not in a war with the Phœnicians and Medes, such as my brother Cimon waged, but in destroying a city united to us both in blood and friendship?" Pericles only smiled, and answered softly with this line of Archilochus,—

"Why lavish ointments on a head that's grey?"

Ion informs us that he was highly elated with this con-

quest, and scrupled not to say, "that Agamemnon spent ten years in reducing one of the cities of the barbarians, whereas he had taken the richest and most powerful city among the Ionians in nine months." And indeed he had reason to be proud of this achievement; for the war was really a dangerous one, and the event uncertain, since, according to Thucydides, such was the power of the Samians, that the Athenians were in imminent danger of losing the dominion of the sea.

Phidias the statuary had undertaken (as we have said) the statue of Minerva. The friendship and influence he had with Pericles exposed him to envy, and procured him many enemies, who willing to make an experiment upon him, what judgment the people might pass on Pericles himself, persuaded Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, to place himself as a suppliant in the forum, and to entreat the protection of the republic while he lodged an information against Phidias. The people granting his request, and the affair coming to a public trial, the allegation of theft, which Menon brought against him, was shewn to be groundless. For Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, had managed the matter from the first with so much art, that the gold with which the statue was overlaid could easily be taken off and weighed; and Pericles ordered this to be done by the accusers. But the excellence of his work, and the envy arisen thence, was the thing that ruined Phidias; and it was particularly insisted upon, that in his representation of the battle with the Amazons upon Minerva's shield, he had introduced his own effigies as a bald old man taking up a great stone with both hands, and a high-finished picture of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. The last was contrived with so much art, that the hand, which, in lifting up the spear, partly covered the

face, seemed to be intended to conceal the likeness, which yet was very striking on both sides. Phidias, therefore, was thrown into prison, where he died a natural death ; though some say poison was given him by his enemies, who were desirous of causing Pericles to be suspected. As for the accuser, Menon, he had an immunity from taxes granted him, at the motion of Glycon, and the generals were ordered to provide for his security.

About this time Aspasia was prosecuted for impiety, by Hermippus, a comic poet. And Diopithes procured a decree, that those who disputed the existence of the gods, or introduced new opinions about celestial appearances, should be tried before an assembly of the people. This charge was levelled first at Anaxagoras, and through him at Pericles. And as the people admitted it, another decree was proposed by Dracontides, that Pericles should give an account of the public money before the Prytanes, and that the judges should take the ballots from the altar, and try the cause in the city. But Agnon caused the last article to be dropped, and instead thereof, it was voted that the action should be laid before the fifteen hundred judges, either for peculation, and taking of bribes, or simply for corrupt practices.

Aspasia was acquitted, though much against the tenor of the law, by means of Pericles, who (according to Æschines) shed many tears in his application for mercy for her. He did not expect the same indulgence for Anaxagoras, and therefore caused him to quit the city, and conducted him part of the way. And as he himself was become obnoxious to the people upon Phidias's account, and was afraid of being called in question for it, he urged on the war, which as yet was uncertain, and blew up that flame which, till then, was stifled and suppressed. By this means he hoped to

obviate the accusations that threatened him, and to mitigate the rage of envy, because such was his dignity and power, that in all important affairs, and in every great danger, the republic could place its confidence in him alone. These are said to be the reasons which induced him to persuade the people not to grant the demands of the Lacedæmonians ; but what was the real cause is quite uncertain.

He manned a hundred and fifty ships, on which he embarked great numbers of select horse and foot, and was preparing to set sail. The Athenians conceived good hopes of success, and the enemy no less dreaded so great an armament. The whole fleet was in readiness, and Pericles on board his own galley, when there happened an eclipse of the sun. The sudden darkness was looked upon as an unfavourable omen, and threw them into the greatest consternation. Pericles, observing that the pilot was much astonished and perplexed, took his cloak, and having covered his eyes with it, asked him, "If he found anything terrible in that, or considered it as a sad presage?" Upon his answering in the negative, he said, "Where is the difference, then, between this and the other, except that something bigger than my cloak causes the eclipse?" But this is a question which is discussed in the schools of philosophy.

In this expedition Pericles performed nothing worthy of so great an equipment. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidorus, and at first with some rational hopes of success ; but the distemper which prevailed in his army broke all his measures ; for it not only carried off his own men, but all that had intercourse with them. As this ill success set the Athenians against him, he endeavoured to console them under their losses, and to animate them to new attempts.

But it was not in his power to mitigate their resentment, nor could they be satisfied, until they had shewed themselves masters, by voting that he should be deprived of the command, and pay a fine, which by the lowest account, was fifteen talents ; some make it fifty. The person that carried on the prosecution against him, was Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us ; or, according to Theophrastus, Simmias ; or Lacratides, if we believe Heraclides of Pontus.

The public ferment, indeed, soon subsided : the people quitting their resentment with that blow, as a bee leaves its sting in the wound : but his private affairs were in a miserable condition, for he had lost a number of his relations in the plague, and a misunderstanding had prevailed for some time in his family. Xanthippus, the eldest of his legitimate sons, was naturally profuse, and besides had married a young and expensive wife, daughter to Isander, and granddaughter to Epylicus. He knew not how to brook his father's frugality, who supplied him but sparingly, and with a little at a time, and therefore sent to one of his friends, and took up money in the name of Pericles. When the man came to demand his money, Pericles not only refused to pay him, but even prosecuted him for the demand. Xanthippus was so highly enraged at this, that he began openly to abuse his father. First, he exposed and ridiculed the company he kept in his house and the conversations he held with the philosophers. He said, that Epitimius the Pharsalian having undesignedly killed a horse with a javelin which he threw at the public games, his father spent a whole day in disputing with Protogorus, which might be properly deemed the cause of his death, the javelin, or the man that threw it, or the president of the games. Stesimbrotus adds, that it was Xanthippus who

spread the vile report concerning his own wife and Pericles, and that the young man retained this implacable hatred against his father to his latest breath. He was carried off by the plague. Pericles lost his sister too at that time, and the greatest part of his relations and friends who were most capable of assisting him in the business of the state. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, he lost not his dignity of sentiment and greatness of soul. He neither wept, nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he seen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, until the death of Paralus, his last surviving legitimate son. This at last subdued him. He attempted, indeed, then to keep up his usual calm behaviour and serenity of mind ; but, in putting the garland upon the head of the deceased, his firmness forsook him ; he could not bear the sad spectacle ; he broke out into loud lamentations, and shed a torrent of tears ; a passion which he had never before given way to.

Athens made a trial, in the course of a year, of the rest of her generals and orators, and finding none of sufficient weight and authority for so important a charge, she once more turned her eyes on Pericles, and invited him to take upon him the direction of affairs both military and civil. He had for some time shut himself up at home to indulge his sorrow, when Alcibiades, and his other friends, persuaded him to make his appearance. The people making an apology for their ungenerous treatment of him, he re-assumed the reins of government, and being appointed general, his first step was to procure the repeal of the law concerning bastards, of which he himself had been the author ; for he was afraid that his name and family would be extinct for want of a successor.

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague ; but

not with such acute and continued symptoms as it generally shews. It was rather a lingering distemper, which, with frequent intermissions, and by slow degrees, consumed his body, and impaired the vigour of his mind. Theophrastus has a disquisition in his *Ethics*, whether men's characters may be changed with their fortune, and the soul so affected with the disorders of the body as to lose her virtue; and there he relates, that Pericles shewed to a friend, who came to visit him in his sickness, an amulet which the women had hung about his neck, intimating that he must be sick indeed, since he submitted to so ridiculous a piece of superstition.

When he was at the point of death, his surviving friends and the principal citizens sitting about his bed, discoursed together concerning his extraordinary virtue, and the great authority he had enjoyed, and enumerated his various exploits, and the number of his victories; for, while he was commander-in-chief, he had erected no less than nine trophies to the honour of Athens. These things they talked of, supposing that he attended not to what they said, but that his senses were gone. He took notice, however, of every word they had spoken, and thereupon delivered himself audibly as follows: "I am surprised, that while you dwell upon and extol these acts of mine, though fortune had her share in them, and many other generals have performed the like, you take no notice of the greatest and most honourable part of my character, that no Athenian, through my means, ever put on mourning."

Pericles undoubtedly deserved admiration, not only for the candour and moderation which he ever retained, amidst the distractions of business and the rage of his enemies, but for that noble sentiment which led him to think it his most

excellent attainment, never to have given way to envy or anger, notwithstanding the greatness of his power, nor to have nourished an implacable hatred against his greatest foe. In my opinion, this one thing, I mean his mild and dispassionate behaviour, his unblemished integrity and irreproachable conduct during his whole administration, makes his appellation of Olympius, which would otherwise be vain and absurd, no longer exceptionable ; nay, gives it a propriety. Thus, we think the divine powers as the authors of all good, and naturally incapable of producing evil, worthy to rule and preside over the universe. Not in the manner which the poets relate, who, while they endeavour to bewilder us by their irrational opinions, stand convicted of inconsistency, by their own writing. For they represent the place which the gods inhabit, as the region of security and the most perfect tranquillity, unapproached by storms and unsullied with clouds, where a sweet serenity for ever reigns, and a pure *æther* displays itself without interruption ; and these they think mansions suitable to a blessed and immortal nature. Yet, at the same time, they represent the gods themselves as full of anger, malevolence, hatred, and other passions, unworthy even of a reasonable man. But this by the by.

The state of public affairs soon shewed the want of Pericles, and the Athenians openly expressed their regret for his loss. Even those, who, in his lifetime, could but ill brook his superior power, as thinking themselves eclipsed by it, yet upon a trial of other orators and demagogues, after he was gone, soon acknowledged that where severity was required, no man was ever more moderate ; or if mildness was necessary, no man better kept up his dignity, than Pericles. And his so much envied authority to which they

had given the name of monarchy and tyranny, then appeared to have been the bulwark of the state. So much corruption and such a rage of wickedness broke out upon the commonwealth after his death, which he by proper restraints had palliated, and kept from dangerous and destructive extremities!

ALCIBIADES.

BORN B.C. 450—DIED 404.



THOSE that have searched into the pedigree of Alcibiades, say, that Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, was founder of the family; and that by his mother's side he was descended from Alcmaeon; for Dinemache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles, who was of that line. His father Clinias gained great honour in the sea-fight of Artemisium, where he fought in a galley fitted out at his own expense, and afterwards was slain in the battle of Coronæa, where the Boeotians won the day. Pericles and Aripbron, the sons of Zanthippus, and near relations to Alcibiades, were his guardians. It is said, (and not without reason,) that the affection and attachment of Socrates contributed much to his fame. For Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, Theramenes, were illustrious persons, and his contemporaries, yet we do not so much as know the name of the mother of either of them; whereas we know even the nurse of Alcibiades, that she was of Lacedæmon, and that her name was Amycla; as well as that Zopyrus was his schoolmaster; the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.

As to the beauty of Alcibiades, it may be sufficient to say, that it retained its charm through the several stages of child-

hood, youth, and manhood. For it is not universally true, what Euripides says,

“The very autumn of a form once fine
Retains its beauties.”

Yet this was the case of Alcibiades, amongst a few others, by reason of his natural vigour and happy constitution.

He had a lisping in his speech, which became him, and gave a grace and persuasive turn to his discourse. With this agrees the satirical description which Archippus gives of the son of Alcibiades :

“With sauntering step to imitate his father,
The vain youth moves ; his loose robe wildly floats ;
He bends the neck ; he lisps.”

His manners were far from being uniform ; nor is it strange, that they varied according to the many vicissitudes and wonderful turns of his fortune. He was naturally a man of strong passions ; but his ruling passion was an ambition to contend and overcome. This appears from what is related of his sayings when a boy. When hard pressed in wrestling, to prevent his being thrown, he bit the hands of his antagonist, who let go his hold, and said, “You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman.” “No,” says he, “like a lion.”

One day, he was playing at dice with other boys, in the street ; and when it came to his turn to throw, a loaded waggon came up. At first he called to the driver to stop, because he was to throw in the way over which the waggon was to pass. The rustic disregarding him and driving on, the other boys broke away ; but Alcibiades threw himself upon his face directly before the waggon, and stretching himself out, bade the fellow drive on if he pleased. Upon this, he was so startled that he stopped his horses, while those that saw it ran up to him with terror.

In the course of his education, he willingly took the lessons of his other masters, but refused learning to play upon the flute, which he looked upon as a mean art, and unbecoming a gentleman. "The use of the 'plectrum' upon the lyre," he would say, has nothing in it that disorders the features or form, but a man is hardly to be known by his most intimate friends when he plays upon the flute. Besides, the lyre does not hinder the performer from speaking or accompanying it with a song; whereas the flute so engages the mouth and the breath, that it leaves no possibility of speaking. Therefore let the Theban youth pipe, who know not how to discourse; but we Athenians, according to the account of our ancestors, have Minerva for our patroness, and Apollo for our protector; one of whom threw away the flute, and the other stripped off the man's skin who played upon it.

Many persons of rank made their court to Alcibiades, but it is evident that they were charmed and attracted by the beauty of his person. Socrates was the only one whose regards were fixed upon the mind, and bore witness to the young man's virtue and ingenuity; the rays of which he could distinguish through his fine form. And fearing lest the pride of riches and high rank, and the crowd of flatterers, both Athenians and strangers, should corrupt him, he used his best endeavours to prevent it, and took care that so hopeful a plant should not lose its fruit and perish in the very flower. If ever fortune so enclosed and fortified a man with what are called her goods, as to render him inaccessible to the incision-knife of philosophy, and the searching probe of free advice, surely it was Alcibiades. From the first he was surrounded with pleasures, and a multitude of admirers determined to say nothing but what they thought would

please, and to keep him from all admonition and reproof; yet by his native penetration, he distinguished the value of Socrates, and attached himself to him, rejecting the rich and great who sued for his regard.

With Socrates he soon entered into the closest intimacy; and finding that he did not, like the rest of the unmanly crew, want improper favours, but that he studied to correct the errors of his heart, and to cure him of his empty and foolish arrogance,

“Then his crest fell, and all his pride was gone,
He droop'd the conquer'd wing.”

In fact, he considered the discipline of Socrates as a provision from heaven for the preservation and benefit of youth. Thus despising himself, admiring his friend, adoring his wisdom, and revering his virtue, he insensibly formed in his heart the image of love, or rather came under the influence of that power, who, as Plato says, secures his votaries from vicious love. It surprised all the world to see him constantly sup with Socrates, take with him the exercise of wrestling, lodge in the same tent with him; while to his other admirers he was reserved and rough.

Though Socrates had many rivals, yet he kept possession of Alcibiades's heart by the excellence of his genius and the pathetic turn of his conversation, which often drew tears from his young companion. And though sometimes he gave Socrates the slip, and was drawn away by his flatterers, who exhausted all the art of pleasure for that purpose, yet the philosopher took care to hunt out his fugitive, who feared and respected none but him; the rest he held in great contempt. Hence that saying of Cleanthes, “Socrates gains Alcibiades by the ear, and leaves to his rivals other parts of his body, with which he scorns to meddle.” In fact



“Though sometimes he gave Socrates the slip, and was drawn away by his flatterers, yet the philosopher took care to hunt out his fugitive, who feared and respected none but him.” —OLD WORLD WORTHIES, Page 48.



Alcibiades was very capable of being led by the allurements of pleasure ; and what Thucydides says concerning his excesses in his way of living, gives occasion to believe so. Those who endeavoured to corrupt him attacked him on a still weaker side, his vanity and love of distinction, and led him into vast designs and unseasonable projects, persuading him, that as soon as he should apply himself to the management of public affairs, he would not only eclipse the other generals and orators, but surpass even Pericles himself, in point of reputation as well as interest with the powers of Greece. But as iron, when softened by the fire, is soon hardened again and brought to a proper temper by cold water, so when Alcibiades was enervated by luxury, or swollen with pride, Socrates corrected and brought him to himself by his discourses ; for from them he learned the number of his defects and the imperfection of his virtue.

One day, wanting to speak to Pericles, he went to his house, and being told there that he was busied in considering how to give in his accounts to the people, and therefore not at leisure ; he said as he went away, "He had better consider how to avoid giving in any account at all."

Whilst he was yet a youth, he made the campaign at Potidæ, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and was his companion in every engagement. In the principal battle they both behaved with great gallantry ; but Alcibiades at last falling down wounded, Socrates advanced to defend him, which he did effectually in the sight of the whole army, saving both him and his arms. For this the prize of valour was certainly due to Socrates, yet the generals inclined to give it to Alcibiades on account of his quality ; and Socrates, willing to encourage his thirst after true glory, was the first who gave his suffrage for him, and

pressed them to adjudge him the crown and the complete suit of armour. On the other hand, at the battle of Delium, where the Athenians were routed, and Socrates, with a few others, was retreating on foot, Alcibiades observing it, did not pass him, but covered his retreat, and brought him safe off, though the enemy pressed furiously forward, and killed great numbers of the Athenians. But this happened a considerable time after.

The first thing that made him popular, and introduced him into the administration, was his distributing of money, not by design, but accident. Seeing one day a great crowd of people as he was walking along, he asked what it meant and being informed there was a donative made to the people, he distributed money too, as he went in amongst them. This meeting with great applause, he was so much delighted, that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe, and the bird, frightened with the noises, flew away. Upon this, the people set up still louder acclamations, and many of them assisted him to recover the quail. The man who did catch it, and bring it to him, was one Antiochus, a pilot, for whom ever after he had a particular regard.

He had great advantages for introducing himself into the management of public affairs, from his birth, his estate, his personal valour, and the number of his friends and relations; but what he choose above all the rest to recommend himself by to the people was the charms of his eloquence. That he was a fine speaker the comic writers bear witness; and so does the prince of orators, in his oration against Midias, where he says that Alcibiades was the most eloquent man of his time. And if we believe Theophrastus, a curious searcher into antiquity, and more versed in history than the other philosophers, Alcibiades had a peculiar happiness of

invention, and readiness of ideas, which eminently distinguished him. But as his care was employed not only upon the matter but the expression, and he had not the greatest facility in the latter, he often hesitated in the midst of a speech not hitting upon the word he wanted, and stopped until it occurred to him.

He was famed for his breed of horses and the number of chariots. For no one besides himself, whether private person or king, ever sent seven chariots at one time to the Olympic games. The first, the second, and the fourth prizes, according to Thucydides, or the third, as Euripides relates it, he bore away at once, which exceeds everything performed by the most ambitious in that way.

The emulation which several Grecian cities expressed, in the presents they made him, gave a still greater lustre to his success. Ephesus provided a magnificent pavilion for him; Chios was at the expense of keeping his horses and beasts for sacrifice; and Lesbos found him in wine and everything necessary for the most elegant public table.

Alcibiades was very young when he first applied himself to the business of the republic, and yet he soon showed himself superior to the other orators. The persons capable of standing in some degree of competition with him, were Phæax the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias the son of Niceratus. The latter was advanced in years, and one of the best generals of his time.

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the great esteem in which Nicias was held by the enemies of Athens, than at the respect which the Athenians themselves paid him. The rites of hospitality had long subsisted between the family of Alcibiades and the Lacedæmonians, and he had taken particular care of such of them as were made prisoners at Pylos;

yet when they found that it was chiefly by the means of Nicias that they obtained a peace and recovered the captives, their regards centered in him. It was a common observation among the Greeks, that Pericles had engaged them in a war, and Nicias had set them free from it; nay, the peace was even called the Nician peace. Alcibiades was very uneasy at this, and out of envy of Nicias, determined to break the league.

As soon then as he perceived that the people of Argos both feared and hated the Spartans, and consequently wanted to get clear of all connection with them, he privately gave them hopes of assistance from Athens; and both by his agents and in person, he encouraged the principal citizens not to entertain any fear, or to give up any point, but to apply to the Athenians, who were almost ready to repent of the peace they had made, and would soon seek occasion to break it.

But after the Lacedæmonians had entered into alliance with the Bœotians, and had delivered Panactus to the Athenians, not with its fortifications, as they ought to have done, but quite dismantled, he took the opportunity, while the Athenians were incensed at this proceeding, to inflame them still more. At the same time he raised a clamour against Nicias, alleging things which had a face of probability; for he reproached him with having neglected, when commander-in-chief, to make that party prisoners who were left by the enemy in Sphacteria, and with releasing them, when taken by others, to ingratiate himself with the Lacedæmonians; he farther asserted, that though Nicias had an interest with the Lacedæmonians, he would not make use of it to prevent their entering into the confederacy with the Bœotians and Corinthians; but that when an alliance was

offered to the Athenians by any of the Grecian states, he took care to prevent their accepting it, if it were likely to give umbrage to the Lacedæmonians.

Nicias was greatly disconcerted ; but at that very juncture it happened that ambassadors from Lacedæmon arrived with moderate proposals, and declared that they had full powers to treat and decide all differences in an equitable way. The senate was satisfied, and next day the people were to be convened : but Alcibiades, dreading the success of that audience, found means to speak with the ambassadors in the meantime ; and thus he addressed them :—"Men of Lacedæmon ! what is it you are going to do ? Are not you apprised that the behaviour of the senate is always candid and humane to those who apply to it, whereas the people are haughty and expect great concessions ? If you say that you are come with full powers, you will find them intractable and extravagant in their demands. Come, then, retract that imprudent declaration, and if you desire to keep the Athenians within the bounds of reason, and not to have terms extorted from you, which you cannot approve, treat with them as if you had not a discretionary commission. I will use my best endeavours in favour of the Lacedæmonians." He confirmed his promise with an oath, and thus drew them over from Nicias to himself. In Alcibiades they now placed an entire confidence, admiring both his understanding and address in business, and regarding him as a very extraordinary man.

Next day the people assembled, and the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them in an obliging manner, what their commission was, and they answered, that they did not come as plenipotentiaries. Then he began to rave and storm, as if he had received an injury, not

done one ; and calling them faithless, prevaricating men, who were come neither to do nor to say anything honourable. The senate was incensed ; the people were enraged ; and Nicias, who was ignorant of the deceitful contrivance of Alcibiades, was filled with astonishment and confusion at this change.

The proposals of the ambassadors thus rejected, Alcibiades was declared general, and soon engaged the Argives, the Mantineans, and Eleans, as allies to the Athenians. Nobody commended the manner of this transaction, but the effect was very great, since it divided and embroiled almost all Peloponnesus, in one day lifted so many arms against the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea, and removed to so great a distance from Athens the scene of war ; by which the Lacedæmonians, if victorious, could gain no great advantage, whereas a miscarriage would have risked the very being of their state.

Soon after this battle at Mantinea, the principal officers of the Argive army attempted to abolish the popular government in Argos, and to take the administration into their own hands. The Lacedæmonians espoused the design, and assisted them to carry it into execution. But the people took up arms again, and defeated their new masters ; and Alcibiades coming to their aid, made the victory more complete. At the same time he persuaded them to extend their walls down to the sea, that they might always be in a condition to receive succours from the Athenians. From Athens he sent them carpenters and masons, exerting himself greatly on this occasion, which tended to increase his personal interest and power, as well as that of his country. He advised the people of Patræ too, to join their city to the sea by long walls. And somebody observing to the Patrensiens, “that the Athenians would one day swallow them up ;” “Possibly it

may be so," said Alcibiades, "but they will begin with the feet, and do it by little and little, whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin with the head, and do it all at once." He exhorted the Athenians to assert the empire of the land as well as of the sea; and was ever putting the young warriors in mind to shew by their deeds that they remembered the oath they had taken in the temple of Agraulos. The oath is, that they will consider wheat, barley, vine, and olives, as the bounds of Attica; by which it is insinuated, that they should endeavour to possess themselves of all lands that are cultivated and fruitful.

But these, his great abilities in politics, his eloquence, his reach of genius, and keenness of apprehension, were tarnished by his luxurious living, his drinking, and debauches, his effeminacy of dress, and his insolent profusion. He wore a purple robe with a long train, when he appeared in public. He caused the planks of his galley to be cut away, that he might lie the softer, his bed not being placed upon the boards, but hanging upon girths. And in the wars he bore a shield of gold, which had none of the usual ensigns of his country, but in their stead, a Cupid bearing a thunderbolt. The great men of Athens saw his behaviour with uneasiness and indignation, and even dreaded the consequence. They regarded his foreign manners, his profusion, and contempt of the laws, as so many means to make himself absolute. And Aristophanes well expresses how the bulk of the people were disposed towards him:—

"They love, they hate, but cannot live without him."

And again he satirises him still more severely by the following allusion,

"Nurse not a lion's whelp within your walls,
But if he is brought up there, soothe the brute."

The truth is, his prodigious liberality ; the games he exhibited, and the other extraordinary instances of his munificence to the people, the glory of his ancestors, the beauty of his person, and the force of his eloquence, together with his heroic strength, his valour, and experience in war, so gained upon the Athenians, that they connived at his errors, and spoke of them with all imaginable tenderness, calling them sallies of youth, and good-humoured frolics. When Timon, famed for his misanthropy, saw Alcibiades, after having gained his point, conducted home with great honour from the place of assembly, he did not shun him, as he did other men, but went up to him, and, shaking him by the hand, thus addressed him, "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper ; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." This occasioned several reflections ; some laughed, some railed, and others were extremely moved at the saying. So various were the judgments formed of Alcibiades, by reason of the inconsistency of his character.

In the time of Pericles, the Athenians had a desire after Sicily, and when he had paid the last debt to nature, they attempted it ; frequently, under pretence of succouring their allies, sending aids of men and money to such of the Sicilians as were attacked by the Syracusans. This was a step to greater armaments. But Alcibiades inflamed this desire to an irresistible degree, and persuaded them not to attempt the island in part, and by little and little, but to send a powerful fleet entirely to subdue it. He inspired the people with hopes of great things, and indulged himself in expectations still more lofty : for he did not, like the rest, consider Sicily as the end of his wishes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions he had conceived. And while Nicias was dissuading the people from the siege of Syracuse,

as a business too difficult to succeed in, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Libya : and after these were gained, had designed to grasp Italy and Peloponnesus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for provisions and warlike stores.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals much against his inclination ; for he would have declined the command, if it had been only on account of his having such a colleague. The Athenians, however, thought the war would be better conducted, if they did not give free scope to the impetuosity of Alcibiades, but tempered his boldness with the prudence of Nicias. For as to the third general, Lamachus, though well advanced in years, he did not seem to come at all short of Alcibiades in heat and rashness.

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops, and the necessary preparations for the armament, Nicias again opposed their measures, and endeavoured to prevent the war. But Alcibiades replying to his arguments, and carrying all before him, the orator Demosthenes proposed a decree, that the generals should have the absolute direction of the war, and of all the preparations for it.

He accordingly set sail together with his colleagues, having nearly a hundred and forty galleys in his company, five thousand one hundred heavy armed soldiers, and about a thousand three hundred archers, slingers, and others light-armed ; with suitable provisions and stores.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium. There he gave his opinion as to the manner in which the war should be conducted, and was opposed by Nicias : but as Lamachus agreed with him, he sailed to Sicily, and made himself master of Catana. This was all he performed, being soon sent for by the Athenians to take his trial on a

charge of impiety and treason. At first there was nothing against him but slight suspicions, and the depositions of slaves and persons who sojourned in Athens. But his enemies took advantage of his absence, to bring new matter of impeachment, adding to the mutilating of the statues, his sacrilegious behaviour with respect to the mysteries, and alleging that both these crimes flowed from the same source, a conspiracy to change the government.

They sent the Salaminian galley to fetch him, artfully enough ordering their officer not to use violence, or to lay hold of his person, but to behave to him with civility, and to acquaint him with the people's orders that he should go and take his trial, and clear himself before them. For they were apprehensive of some tumult and mutiny in the army, now it was in an enemy's country, which Alcibiades, had he been so disposed, might have raised with all the ease in the world. Indeed, the soldiers expressed great uneasiness at his leaving them, and expected that the war would be spun out to a great length by the dilatory counsels of Nicias, when the spur was taken away. Lamachus, indeed, was bold and brave, but he was wanting both in dignity and weight, by reason of his poverty.

Alcibiades immediately embarked: the consequence of which was, that the Athenians could not take Messena. There were persons in the town ready to betray it, whom Alcibiades perfectly knew, and as he apprised some that were friends to the Syracusans of their intention, the affair miscarried.

As soon as he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and concealing himself there, eluded the search that was made after him. But some person knowing him, and saying, "Will not you, then, trust your country?" he answered,

“As to anything else I will trust her ; but with my life I would not trust even my mother, lest she should mistake a black bean for a white one.” Afterwards being told that the republic had condemned him to die, he said, “But I will make them find that I am alive.”

The information against him ran thus, “Thessalus, the son of Cimon, of the ward of Lacias, accuseth Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, of the ward of Scambonis, of sacrilegiously offending the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine, by counterfeiting their mysteries, and shewing them to his companions in his own house. Wearing such a robe as the high-priest does while he shews the holy things, he called himself high-priest, as he did Polytion torch-bearer, and Theodorus of the ward of Phygea, herald ; and the rest of his companions he called ‘persons initiated,’ and ‘brethren of the secret ;’ herein acting contrary to the rules and ceremonies established by the Eumolpidæ, the heralds and priests at Eleusis.” As he did not appear, they condemned him, confiscated his goods, and ordered all the priests and priestesses to denounce an execration against him ; which was denounced accordingly by all but Theno, the daughter of Menon, priestess of the temple of Agraulos, who excused herself, alleging, that “she was a priestess for prayer, not for execration.”

While these decrees and sentences were passing against Alcibiades, he was at Argos ; having quitted Thurii, which no longer afforded him a safe asylum, to come into Peloponnesus. Still dreading his enemies, and giving up all hopes of being restored to his country, he sent to Sparta to desire permission to live there under the protection of the public faith, promising to serve that state more effectually, now he was their friend, than he had annoyed them, whilst

their enemy. The Spartans granting him a safe conduct, and expressing their readiness to receive him, he went thither with pleasure. One thing he soon effected, which was to procure succours for Syracuse without farther hesitation or delay, having persuaded them to send Gylippus thither, to take upon him the direction of the war, and to crush the Athenian power in Sicily. Another thing, which he persuaded them to, was to declare war against the Athenians, and to begin its operations on the continent; and the third, which was the most important of all, was to get Decelea fortified; for this being in the neighbourhood of Athens, was productive of great mischief to that commonwealth.

These measures procured Alcibiades the public approbation to Sparta, and he was no less admired for his manner of living in private. By conforming to their diet and other austerities, he charmed and captivated the people. When they saw him close shaved, bathing in cold water, feeding on their coarse bread, or eating their black broth, they could hardly believe that such a man had ever kept a cook in his house, seen a perfumer, or worn a robe of Milesian purple. It seems, that amongst his other qualifications, he had the very extraordinary art of engaging the affections of those with whom he conversed, by imitating and adopting their customs and way of living. Nay, he turned himself into all manner of forms with more ease than the cameleon changes his colour. It is not, we are told, in that animal's power to assume a white, but Alcibiades could adapt himself either to good or bad, and did not find anything which he attempted impracticable. Thus at Sparta, he was all for exercise, frugal in his diet, and severe in his manners. In Asia he was as much for mirth and pleasure, luxury, and ease. In Thrace, again, riding and drinking were his

favourite amusements ; and in the palace of Tissaphernes, the Persian grandee, he outvied the Persians themselves in pomp and splendour. Not that he could with so much ease change his real manners, or approve in his heart the form which he assumed ; but because he knew that his native manners would be unacceptable to those whom he happened to be with, he immediately conformed to the ways and fashions of whatever place he came to. When he was at Lacedæmon, if you regarded only his outside, you would say as the proverb does, "This is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles himself ; this man has surely been brought up under the eye of Lycurgus ;" but then if you looked more nearly into his disposition and his actions, you would exclaim, with Electra in the poem, "The same weak woman still !"

After the miscarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Lesbos, and Cyzicum, sent to treat with the Spartans about quitting the interests of Athens, and putting themselves under the protection of Sparta. The Bœotians, on this occasion, solicited for the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus for the people of Cyzicum ; but at the persuasion of Alcibiades, succours were sent to those of Chios before all others. He likewise passed over into Ionia, and prevailed with almost all that country to revolt, and attending the Lacedæmonian generals in the execution of most of their commissions, he did great prejudice to the Athenians.

But Agis, who was already his enemy, could not endure his glory and prosperity ; for most of the present successes were ascribed to Alcibiades. The great and the ambitious among the Spartans were indeed, in general, touched with envy ; and had influence enough with the civil magistrates

to procure orders to be sent to their friends in Ionia to kill him. But timely foreseeing his danger, and cautioned by his fears, in every step he took he still served the Lacedæmonians, taking care all the while not to put himself in their power. Instead of that, he sought the protection of Tissaphernes, one of the grandes of Persia, or lieutenants of the king. With this Persian he soon attained the highest credit and authority: for, himself a very subtle and insincere man, he admired the art and keenness of Alcibiades. Indeed, by the elegance of his conversation and the charms of his politeness, every man was gained; all hearts were touched. Even those that feared and envied him were not insensible to pleasure in his company; and while they enjoyed it, their resentment was disarmed. Tissaphernes, in all other cases savage in his temper, and the bitterest enemy that Greece experienced among the Persians, gave himself up, notwithstanding, to the flatteries of Alcibiades, insomuch that he even vied with and exceeded him in address.

Rejecting, therefore, the interests of Lacedæmon, and fearing that people as treacherous to him, he represented them and their king Agis, in a disadvantageous light to Tissaphernes. He advised him not to assist them effectually, nor absolutely to ruin the Athenians, but to send his subsidies to Sparta with a sparing hand: that so the two powers might insensibly weaken and consume each other, and both at last be easily subjected to the king. Tissaphernes readily followed his counsels, and it was evident to all the world that he held him in the greatest admiration and esteem; which made him equally considerable with the Greeks of both parties. The Athenians repented of the sentence they had passed upon him, because they had suffered for it since: and Alcibiades, on his side, was under

some fear and concern, lest, if their republic were destroyed, he should fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who hated him.

At that time, the whole strength of the Athenians lay at Samos. With their ships sent out from thence, they recovered some of the towns which had revolted, and others they kept to their duty; and at sea they were in some measure able to make head against their enemies. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and the Phœnician fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, which were said to be coming against them; for against such a force they could not hope to defend themselves. Alcibiades, apprised of this, privately sent a messenger to the principal Athenians at Samos, to give them hopes that he would procure them the friendship of Tissaphernes; not to recommend himself to the people, whom he could not trust; but to oblige the nobility, if they would but exert their superiority, repress the insolence of the commonalty, and, taking the government into their own hands, by that means save their country.

The friends of Alcibiades, who now had a superior interest at Samos, sent Pysander to Athens, to change the form of government, by encouraging the nobility to assume it, and to deprive the people of their power and privileges, as the condition upon which Alcibiades would procure them the friendship and alliance of Tissaphernes. This was the colour of the pretence made use of by those who wanted to introduce an oligarchy. But when that body, which were called "the five thousand," but in fact were only "four hundred," had got the power into their hands, they paid but little attention to Alcibiades, and carried on the war but slowly: partly distrusting the citizens, who did not yet relish the new form of government, and partly hoping that the

Lacedæmonians, who were always inclined to favour an oligarchy, would not press them with their usual vigour.

Such of the commonalty as were at home were silent through fear, though much against their will ; for a number of those who had openly opposed the "four hundred," were put to death. But when they that were at Samos were informed of the affair, they were highly incensed at it, and inclined immediately to set sail for the Pyræus. In the first place, however, they sent for Alcibiades, and having appointed him their general, ordered him to lead them against the tyrants, and demolish both them and their power. On such an occasion, almost any other man, suddenly exalted by the favour of the multitude, would have thought he must have complied with all their humours, and not have contradicted those in anything, who, from a fugitive and a banished man, had raised him to be commander-in-chief of such a fleet and army. But he behaved as became a great general, and prevented their plunging into error through the violence of their rage. This care of his evidently was the saving of the commonwealth. For if they had sailed home, as they promised, the enemy would have seized on Ionia immediately, and have gained the Hellespont and the islands without striking a stroke ; while the Athenians would have been engaged in a civil war, of which Athens itself would have been the seat. All this was prevented chiefly by Alcibiades, who not only tried what arguments would do with the army in general, and informed them of their danger, but applied to them one by one, using entreaties to some and force to others ; in which he was assisted by the loud harangues of Thrasybulus of the ward of Stira, who attended him through the whole, and had the strongest voice of any man among the Athenians.

After this the "four hundred" were soon quashed, the friends of Alcibiades were readily assisting those who were for a democracy. And now the people in the city not only wished for him, but commanded him to return; yet he thought it not best to return with empty hands, or without having effected something worthy of note, but instead of being indebted to the compassion and favour of the multitude, to distinguish his appearance by his merit. Parting, therefore, from Samos with a few ships, he cruised on the sea of Cnidus and about the isle of Coos, where he got intelligence that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailed with his whole fleet towards the Hellespont, to find out the Athenians. This made him hasten to the assistance of the latter, and fortunately enough he arrived with his eighteen ships at the very juncture of time, when the two fleets, having engaged near Abydos, continued the fight from morning until night, one side having the advantage in the right wing, and the other on the left.

On the appearance of his squadron both sides entertained a false opinion of the end of his coming; for the Spartans were encouraged and the Athenians struck with terror. But he soon hoisted the Athenian flag on the admiral galley, and bore down directly upon the Peloponnesians, who now had the advantage and were urging the pursuit. His vigorous impression put them to flight, and following them close, he drove them ashore, destroying their ships, and killing such of the men as endeavoured to save themselves by swimming: though Pharnabazus succoured them all he could from the shore, and with an armed force attempted to save their vessels. The conclusion was, that the Athenians, having taken thirty of the enemy's ships, and recovered their own, erected a trophy.

After this glorious success, Alcibiades, ambitious to shew himself as soon as possible to Tissaphernes, prepared presents and other proper acknowledgments for his friendship and hospitality, and then went to wait upon him, with a princely train. But he was not welcomed in the manner he expected : for Tissaphernes; who for some time had been accused by the Lacedæmonians; and was apprehensive that the charge might reach the king's ear, thought the coming of Alcibiades a very seasonable incident, and therefore put him under arrest; and confined him at Sardis, imagining that injurious proceeding would be a means to clear himself.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades having by some means or other obtained a horse, escaped from his keepers, and fled to Clazomenæ: and, by way of revenge, he pretended that Tissaphernes privately set him at liberty. From thence he passed to the place where the Athenians were stationed; and being informed that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicum, he showed the troops that it was necessary for them to fight both by sea and land, nay, even to fight with stone walls, if that should be required; in order to come at their enemies; for, if the victory were not complete and universal, they could come at no money. Then he embarked the forces, and sailed to Proconesus, where he ordered them to take the lighter vessels into the middle of the fleet, and to have a particular care that the enemy might not discover that he was coming against them. A great and sudden rain which happened to fall at that time, together with dreadful thunder and darkness, was of great service in covering his operations. For not only the enemy were ignorant of his design, but the very Athenians, whom he had ordered in great haste on board, did not presently perceive that he was under sail. Soon after the weather cleared up,

and the Peloponnesian ships were seen riding at anchor in the road of Cyzicum. Lest, therefore, the enemy should be alarmed at the largeness of his fleet, and save themselves by getting on shore, he directed many of the officers to slacken sail and keep out of sight, while he showed himself with forty ships only, and challenged the Lacedæmonians to the combat. The stratagem had its effect; for despising the small number of galleys which they saw, they immediately weighed anchor and engaged; but the rest of the Athenian ships coming up during the engagement, the Lacedæmonians were struck with terror and fled. Upon that Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships breaking through the midst of them, hastened to the shore, and having made a descent, pursued those that fled from the ships, and killed great numbers of them. He likewise defeated Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their succour. Mindarus made a brave resistance and was slain, but Pharnabazus saved himself by flight.

The Athenians remained masters of the field and of the spoils, and took all the enemy's ships. Having also possessed themselves of Cyzicum, which was abandoned by Pharnabazus, and deprived of the assistance of the Peloponnesians, who were almost all cut off, they not only secured the Hellespont, but entirely cleared the sea of the Lacedæmonians. The letter also was intercepted, which, in the laconic style, was to give the Ephori an account of their misfortune. "Our glory is faded. Mindarus is slain. Our soldiers are starving; and we know not what step to take."

Alcibiades, by this time, desirous to see his native country, and still more desirous to be seen by his countrymen, after so many glorious victories, set sail with the Athenian fleet, adorned with many shields and other spoils of the enemy;

a great number of ships that he had taken making up the rear, and the flags of many more which he had destroyed being carried in triumph ; for all of them together were not fewer than two hundred. But as to what is added, by Duris the Samian, who boasts of his being descended from Alcibiades, that the oars kept time to the flute of Chrysogonus, who had been victorious in the Pythian games ; that Callipides the tragedian, attired in his buskins, magnificent robes, and other theatrical ornaments, gave orders to those who laboured at the oars ; and that the admiral galley entered the harbour with a purple sail ; as if the whole had been a company who had proceeded from a debauch to such a frolic ; these are particulars not mentioned either by Theopompus, Ephorus, or Xenophon. Nor is it probable, that at his return from exile, and after such misfortunes as he had suffered, he would insult the Athenians in that manner. So far from it, that he approached the shore with some fear and caution ; nor did he venture to disembark, until, as he stood upon the deck, he saw his cousin Euryptolemus, with many others of his friends and relations, coming to receive and invite him to land.

When he was landed, the multitude that came out to meet him did not vouchsafe so much as to look upon the other generals, but crowding up to him, hailed him with shouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and such as could approach him crowned him with garlands ; while those who could not come up so close viewed him at a distance, and the old men pointed him out to the young. Many tears were mixed with the public joy, and the memory of past misfortunes with the sense of their present success. For they concluded that they should not have miscarried in Sicily, or indeed have failed in any of their expectations, if

they had left the direction of affairs, and the command of the forces, to Alcibiades ; since now, having exerted himself in behalf of Athens, when it had almost lost its dominion of the sea, was hardly able to defend its own suburbs, and was moreover harassed with intestine broils, he had raised it from that low and ruinous condition, so as not only to restore its maritime power, but to render it victorious everywhere by land.

The people presently meeting in full assemblage, Alcibiades came in among them, and having in a pathetic manner bewailed his misfortunes, he very modestly complained of their treatment, ascribing all to his hard fortune, and the influence of some envious demon. He then proceeded to discourse of the hopes and designs of their enemies, against whom he used his utmost endeavours to animate them. And they were so much pleased with his harangue that they crowned him with crowns of gold, and gave him the absolute command of their forces both by sea and land.

They were passionately desirous to see him invested with absolute power ; insomuch that some of them applied to him in person, and exhorted him, in order to quash the malignity of envy at once, to abolish the privileges of the people, and the laws, and to quell those busy spirits who would otherwise be the ruin of the state ; for then he might direct affairs and proceed to action, without fear of groundless impeachments.

What opinion he himself had of this proposal we know not ; but this is certain, that the principal citizens were so apprehensive of his aiming at arbitrary power, that they got him to embark as soon as possible ; and the more to expedite the matter, they ordered, among other things, that he should have the choice of his colleagues. Putting to sea,

therefore, with a fleet of a hundred ships, he sailed to the isle of Andros, where he fought and defeated the Andrians, and such of the Lacedæmonians as assisted them. But yet he did not attack the city, which gave his enemies the first occasion for the charge which they afterwards brought against him. Indeed, if ever man was ruined by a high distinction of character, it was Alcibiades. For his continual successes had procured such an opinion of his courage and capacity, that when afterwards he happened to fail in what he undertook, it was suspected to be from want of inclination, and no one would believe it was from want of ability; they thought nothing too hard for him, when he pleased to exert himself. They hoped also to hear that Chios was taken, and all Ionia reduced, and grew impatient when everything was not despatched as suddenly as they desired. They never considered the smallness of his supplies, and that having to carry on the war against people who were furnished out of the treasury of a great king, he was often laid under the necessity of leaving his camp, to go in search of money and provisions for his men.

This it was that gave rise to the last accusation against him. Lysander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, out of the money he received from Cyrus, raised the wages of each mariner from three "oboli" a day to four, whereas it was with difficulty that Alcibiades paid his men three. The latter, therefore, went into Caria to raise money, leaving the fleet in charge with Antiochus, who was an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate. Though he had express orders from Alcibiades to let no provocation from the enemy bring him to hazard an engagement, yet in his contempt of those orders, having taken some troops on board his own galley and one more, he stood for Ephesus, where

the enemy lay, and as he sailed by the heads of their ships, insulted them in the most insufferable manner both by words and actions. Lysander sent out a few ships to pursue him ; but as the whole Athenian fleet came up to assist Antiochus, he drew out the rest of his and gave battle, and gained a complete victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many ships and men, and erected a trophy. Upon this disagreeable news, Alcibiades returned to Samos, from whence he moved with the whole fleet to offer Lysander battle. But Lysander, content with the advantage he had gained, did not think proper to accept it.

Among the enemies which Alcibiades had in the army, Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason, being the most determined, quitted the camp, and went to Athens to impeach him. To incense the people against him, he declared in full assembly, that Alcibiades had been the ruin of their affairs, and the means of losing their ships, by his insolent and imprudent behaviour in command, and by leaving the direction of everything to persons who had got into credit with him through the great merit of drinking deep and cracking seamen's jokes ; whilst he was securely traversing the provinces to raise money, indulging his love of liquor, or abandoning himself to his pleasures with the courtezans of Ionia and Abydos : and this at a time when the enemy was stationed at a small distance from his fleet. It was also objected to him, that he had built a castle in Thrace near the city of Bisanthe, to be made use of as a retreat for himself, as if he either could not or would not live any longer in his own country. The Athenians giving ear to these accusations, to shew their resentment and dislike to him, appointed new commanders of their forces.

Alcibiades was no sooner informed of it, than, consulting

his own safety, he entirely quitted the Athenian army. And having collected a band of strangers, he made war on his own account against those Thracians who acknowledged no king. The booty he made raised him great sums; and at the same time he defended the Grecian frontier against the barbarians.

He afterwards determined to go to Artaxerxes, and entreat his protection. He imagined that the king upon trial would find him no less serviceable than Themistocles had been, and he had a better pretence to his patronage; for he was not going to solicit the king's aid against his countrymen, as Themistocles had done, but for his country against its worst enemies. He concluded that Pharnabazus was most likely to procure him a safe conduct, and therefore went to him in Phrygia, where he stayed some time, making his court and receiving marks of respect.

At last, Critias represented to Lysander, that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the empire of Greece till the Athenian democracy was absolutely destroyed. And though the Athenians seemed at present to bear an oligarchy with some patience, yet Alcibiades, if he lived, would not suffer them long to submit to such a kind of government. Lysander, however, could not be prevailed upon by these arguments, until he received private orders from the magistrates of Sparta, to get Alcibiades despatched; whether it was that they dreaded his great capacity, and enterprising spirit, or whether it was done in complaisance to king Agis. Lysander then sent to Pharnabazus to desire him to put this order into execution; and he appointed his brother Magacus, and his uncle Susamithres, to manage the affair.

Alcibiades at that time resided in a small village in Phrygia, having his mistress Timandra with him. One night he

dreamed that he was attired in his mistress's habit, and that as she held him in her arms, she dressed his head, and painted his face like a woman's. Others say, he dreamed that Magacus cut off his head and burned his body ; and we are told that it was but a little before his death that he had this vision. Be that as it may, those that were sent to assassinate him, not daring to enter his house, surrounded it, and set it on fire. As soon as he perceived it, he got together large quantities of clothes and hangings, and threw them upon the fire to choke it ; then having wrapped his robe about his left hand, and taking his sword in his right, he sallied through the fire, and got safe out before the stuff which he had thrown upon it could catch the flame. At sight of him the barbarians dispersed, not one of them daring to wait for him, or to encounter him hand to hand ; but standing at a distance, they pierced him with their darts and arrows. Thus fell Alcibiades. The barbarians retiring after he was slain, Timandra wrapped the body in her own robes, and buried it as decently and honourably as her circumstances would allow.

Timandra is said to have been mother to the famous Lais, commonly called the Corinthian, though Lais was brought a captive from Hyccaræ, a little town in Sicily.

Some writers, though they agree as to the manner of Alcibiades's death, yet differ about the cause. They tell us that catastrophe is not to be imputed to Pharnabazus, or Lysander, or the Lacedæmonians ; but that Alcibiades having corrupted a young woman of a noble family, in that country, and keeping her in his house, her brothers, incensed at the injury, set fire in the night to the house in which he lived, and upon his breaking through the flames, killed him in the manner we have related.

DEMOSTHENES.

BORN B.C. 382—DIED 322.



DEMOSTHENES, the father of Demosthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athens. Theopompus tells us he was called the "sword-cutler," because he employed a great number of slaves in that business. As to what Æschines the orator relates concerning his mother, that she was the daughter of one Gylon, who was forced to fly for treason against the commonwealth, and of a barbarian woman, we cannot take upon us to say whether it was dictated by truth, or by falsehood and malignity. He had a large fortune left him by his father, who died when he was only seven years of age ; the whole being estimated at little less than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged by his guardians, who converted part to their own use, and suffered part to lie neglected. Nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their salaries. This was the chief reason that he had not those advantages of education to which his quality entitled him. His mother did not chose that he should be put to hard and laborious exercises, on account of the weakness and delicacy of his frame ; and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not press him to attend them. Indeed, from the first he was of a slender and sickly habit, insomuch that the boys are said to have

given him the contemptuous name of "Batalus" for his natural defects.

His ambition to speak in public is said to have taken its rise on this occasion. The orator Callistratus was to plead in the cause which the city of Oropus had depending; and the expectation of the public was greatly raised both by the powers of the orator, which were then in the highest repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demosthenes hearing the governors and tutors agree among themselves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed on his master to take him to hear the pleadings. The master having some acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, got his young pupil a seat where he could hear the orators without being seen. Callistratus had great success, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demosthenes was fired with a spirit of emulation. When he saw with what distinction the orator was conducted home, and complimented by the people, he was struck still more with the power of that commanding eloquence which could carry all before it. From this time, therefore, he bade adieu to the other studies and exercises in which boys are engaged, and applied himself with great assiduity to declaiming, in hopes of being one day numbered among the orators. Isæus was the man he made use of as his preceptor in eloquence, though Isocrates then taught it; whether it was that the loss of his father incapacitated him to pay the sum of ten "minæ," which was that rhetorician's usual price, or whether he preferred the keen and subtle manner of Isæus, as more fit for public use.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations against them. As they found many methods of chicane and delay, he had great op-

portunity, as Thucydides says, to exercise his talent for the bar. It was not without much pains and some risk that he gained his cause ; and, at last, it was but a very small part of his patrimony that he could recover. By this means, however, he acquired a proper assurance and some experience ; and having tasted the honour and power that go in the train of eloquence, he attempted to speak in the public debates, and take a share in the administration. As it is said of Laomedon the Orchomenian, that, by the advice of his physicians, in some disorder of the spleen, he applied himself to running, and continued it constantly a great length of way, till he had gained such excellent health and breath, that he tried for the crown at the public games, and distinguished himself in the long course : so it happened to Demosthenes, that he first appeared at the bar for the recovery of his own fortune, which had been so much embezzled ; and having acquired in that cause a persuasive and powerful manner of speaking, he contested the crown, as I may call it, with the other orators before the general assembly.

However, in his first address to the people, he was laughed at and interrupted by their clamours ; for the violence of his manner threw him into a confusion of periods, and a distortion of his argument. Besides he had a weakness and a stammering in his voice, and a want of breath, which caused such a distraction in his discourse, that it was difficult for the audience to understand him. At last, upon his quitting the assembly, Eunomus the Thriasian, a man now extremely old, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and took upon him to set him right. “You,” said he, “have a manner of speaking very like that of Pericles ; and yet you lose yourself out of mere timidity and cowardice.

You neither bear up against the tumults of a popular assembly, nor prepare your body by exercise for the labour of the rostrum, but suffer your parts to wither away in negligence and indolence."

Another time, we are told, when his speeches had been ill received, and he was going home with his head covered, and in the greatest distress, Satyrus the player, who was an acquaintance of his, followed, and went in with him: Demosthenes lamented to him, "that, though he was the most laborious of all the orators, and had almost sacrificed his health to that application, yet he could gain no favour with the people; but drunken seamen and other unlettered persons were heard, and kept the rostrum, while he was entirely disregarded." "You say true," answered Satyrus; "but I will soon provide a remedy, if you will repeat to me some speech in Euripides or Sophocles." When Demosthenes had done, Satyrus pronounced the same speech; and he did it with such propriety of action, and so much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different passage. He now understood so well how much grace and dignity action adds to the best oration, that he thought it a small matter to premeditate and compose, though with the utmost care, if the pronunciation and propriety of gesture were not attended to. Upon this he built himself a subterraneous study, which remained to our times. Thither he repaired every day to form his action and exercise his voice; and he would often stay there for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head, that, if he should happen to be ever so desirous of going abroad, the shame of appearing in that condition might keep him in.

When he did go out upon a visit, or received one, he would take something that passed in conversation, some

business or fact that was reported to him, for a subject to exercise himself upon. As soon as he had parted from his friends, he went to his study, where he repeated the matter in order as it passed, together with the arguments for and against it. The substance of the speeches which he heard he committed to memory, and afterwards reduced them to regular sentences and periods, meditating a variety of corrections and new forms of expression, both for what others had said to him, and he had addressed to them. Hence it was concluded that he was not a man of much genius, and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour. A strong proof of this seemed to be, that he was seldom heard to speak anything extempore, and though the people often called upon him by name, as he sat in the assembly, to speak to the point debated, he would not do it unless he came prepared. For this many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas, in particular, told him, "That all his arguments smelled of the lamp." Demosthenes retorted sharply upon him, "Yes, indeed, but your lamp and mine, my friend, are not conscious to the same labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous application, but told them, "He neither wrote the whole of his orations, nor spoke without first committing part to writing." He farther affirmed, "That this shewed him a good member of a democratic state; for the coming prepared to the rostrum was a mark of respect for the people. Whereas, to be regardless of what the people might think of a man's address, shewed his inclination for oligarchy, and that he had rather gain his point by force than by persuasion." Another proof they give us of his want of confidence on any sudden occasion, is, that when he happened to be put into disorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often rose up to support

him in an extempore address, but he never did the same for Demades.

Upon the whole, it appears that Demosthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent resolution not to make a practice of speaking from a sudden impulse, or on any occasion that might present itself; being persuaded, that it was to that conduct he owed his greatness. Yet, while he choose not often to trust the success of his powers to fortune, he did not absolutely neglect the reputation which may be acquired by speaking on a sudden occasion. And, if we believe Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerean, and the comic poets, there was a greater spirit and boldness in his unpremeditated orations than in those he had committed to writing. Eratosthenes says that, in his extemporaneous harangues, he often spoke as from a supernatural impulse; and Demetrius tells us that, in an address to the people, like a man inspired, he once uttered this oath in verse,

“By earth, by all her fountains, streams, and floods!”

As for his personal defects, Demetrius the Phalerean gives us an account of the remedies he applied to them; and he says he had it from Demosthenes in his old age. The hesitation and stammering of his tongue he corrected by practising to speak with pebbles in his mouth; and he strengthened his voice by running or walking up-hill, and pronouncing some passage in an oration or a poem, during the difficulty of breath which that caused. He had, moreover, a looking-glass in his house, before which he used to declaim and adjust all his motions.

He tells us himself, that he entered upon public business in the time of the Phocian war, and the same may be col-

lected from his Philippics. For some of the last of them were delivered after that war was finished ; and the former relate to the immediate transactions of it. It appears also, that he was two and thirty years old when he was preparing his oration against Midias ; and yet, at that time, he had attained no name or power in the administration. This, indeed, seems to be the reason of his dropping the prosecution for a sum of money. For,

“ No prayer, no moving art,
E'er bent that fierce, inexorable heart.”

He was vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his resentments. He saw it a difficult thing, and out of the reach of his interest, to pull down a man so well supported on all sides as Midias, by wealth and friends ; and therefore he listened to the application in his behalf. Had he seen any hopes or possibility of crushing his enemy, I cannot think that three thousand drachmas could have disarmed his anger.

He had a glorious subject for his political ambition, to defend the cause of Greece against Philip. He defended it like a champion worthy of such a charge, and soon gained great reputation both for eloquence and for the bold truths which he spoke. He was admired in Greece, and courted by the king of Persia. Nay, Philip himself had a much higher opinion of him than the other orators ; and his enemies acknowledged that they had to contend with a great man. For Æschines and Hyperides, in their very accusations, give him such a character.

I wonder, therefore, how Theopompus could say that he was a man of no steadiness, who was never long pleased

either with the same persons or things. For, on the contrary, it appears that he abode by the party and the measures which he first adopted ; and was so far from quitting them during his life, that he forfeited his life rather than he would forsake them. He was never a time-server either in his word or actions. The key of politics which he first touched, he kept to without variation.

Panæti^{us}, the philosopher, asserts that most of his orations are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be chosen for her own sake only ; that, for instance, of “the crown,” that against Aristocrates, that for “the immunities,” and the “Philippics.” In all these orations, he does not exhort his countrymen to that which is most agreeable, or easy, or advantageous ; but points out honour and propriety as the first objects, and leaves the safety of the state as a matter of inferior consideration. So that if, besides that noble ambition which animated his measures, and the generous turn of his addresses to the people, he had been blessed with the courage that war demands, and had kept his hands clean of bribes, he would not have been numbered with such orators as Mirocles, Polyeuctus, and Hyperides, but have deserved to be placed in a higher sphere with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

Among those who took the reins of government after him, Phocion, though not of the party in most esteem, (I mean that which seemed to favour the Macedonians,) yet on account of his probity and valour, did not appear at all inferior to Ephialtes, Aristides, and Cimon. But Demosthenes had neither the courage that could be trusted in the field, nor was he (as Demetrius expresses it) sufficiently fortified against the impressions of money. Though he bore up against the assaults of corruption from Philip and the

Macedonians, yet he was taken by the gold of Susa and Ecbatana. So that he was much better qualified to recommend, than to imitate, the virtues of our ancestors. It must be acknowledged, however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and conversation. And we find in his orations, that he told the people the boldest truths, that he opposed their inclinations, and corrected their errors with the greatest spirit and freedom. Theopompus also acquaints us that, when the Athenians were for having him manager of a certain impeachment, and insisted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he would not comply, but rose up and said, "My friends, I will be your counsellor whether you will or no; but a false accuser I will not be, how much soever you may wish it." His behaviour in the case of Antipho was of the aristocratic cast. The people had acquitted him in the general assembly; and yet he carried him before the "areopagus;" where, without regarding the offence it might give the people, he proved that he had promised Philip to burn the arsenal; upon which he was condemned by the council, and put to death. He likewise accused the priestess Theoris of several misdemeanours; and, among the rest, of her teaching the slaves many acts of imposition. Such crimes, he insisted, were capital; and she was delivered over to the executioner.

Demosthenes is said to have written the oration for Apollodorus, by which he carried his cause against the general Timotheus, in an action of debt to the public treasury; as also those others against Phormio and Stephanus: which was a just exception against his character. For he composed the oration which Phormio had pronounced against Apollodorus. This, therefore, was like

furnishing two enemies with weapons out of the same shop to fight one another. He wrote some public orations for others before he had any concern in the administration himself, namely, those against Androtion, Timocrates, and Aristocrates. For it appears that he was only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age when he published those orations. That against Aristogiton, and that for the "immunities," he delivered himself at the request, as he says, of Ctesippus the son of Chabrias ; though others tell us, it was because he paid his addresses to the young man's mother. He did not, however, marry her ; for his wife was a woman of Samos, as Demetrius the Magnesian informs us, in his account of persons of the same name. It is uncertain whether that against Æschines, "for betraying his trust as ambassador," was ever spoken ; though Idomeneus affirms that Æschines was acquitted only by thirty votes. This seems not to be true, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their orations "concerning the crown." For neither of them expressly mentions it as a cause that ever came to trial. But this is a point which we shall leave for others to decide.

Demosthenes, through the whole course of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the king of Macedon undisparaged. Even in time of peace, he laid hold on every opportunity to raise suspicions against him among the Athenians, and to excite their resentment. Hence Philip looked upon him as a person of the greatest importance in Athens ; and when he went with nine other deputies to the court of that prince, after having given them all audience, he answered the speech of Demosthenes with greater care than the rest. As to other marks of honour and respect, Demosthenes had not an equal share in them ; they were

bestowed principally upon Æschines and Philocrates. They, therefore, were large in the praise of Philip on all occasions ; and they insisted, in particular, on his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink a great quantity of liquor. Demosthenes, who could not bear to hear him praised, turned these things off as trifles. "The first," he said, "was the property of a sophist, the second of a woman, and the third of a sponge ; and not one of them could do any credit to a king."

Afterwards, it appeared that nothing was to be expected but war ; for, on the one hand, Philip knew not how to sit down in tranquillity ; and, on the other, Demosthenes inflamed the Athenians. In this case, the first step the orator took was to put the people upon sending an armament to Eubœa, which was brought under the yoke of Philip by its petty tyrants. Accordingly he drew up an edict, in pursuance of which they passed over to that peninsula, and drove out the Macedonians. His second operation was the sending succours to the Byzantians and Perinthians, with whom Philip was at war. He persuaded the people to drop their resentment, to forget the faults which both those nations had committed in the confederate war, and to send a body of troops to their assistance. They did so, and it saved them from ruin. After this, he went ambassador to the states of Greece ; and, by his animating address, brought them almost all to join in the league against Philip. Besides the troops of the several cities, they took an army of mercenaries, to the number of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, into pay, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophrastus tells us that, when the allies desired their contributions might be settled, Crobylus the orator answered, "That war could not be brought to any set diet."

The eyes of all Greece were now upon these movements; and all were solicitous for the event. The cities of Eubœa, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Megarensians, the Leucadians, the Corcyræans, had each severally engaged for themselves against the Macedonians. Yet the greatest work remained for Demosthenes to do; which was to bring the Thebans over to the league. Their country bordered upon Attica; they had a great army on foot, and were then reckoned the best soldiers in Greece. But they had recent obligations to Philip in the Phocian war, and therefore it was not easy to draw them from him; especially when they considered the frequent quarrels and acts of hostility in which their vicinity to Athens engaged them.

Meantime Philip, elated with his success at Amphissa, surprised Elatea, and possessed himself of Phocis. The Athenians were struck with astonishment, and not one of them durst mount the rostrum: no one knew what advice to give; but a melancholy silence reigned in the city. In this distress Demosthenes alone stood forth, and proposed that application should be made to the Thebans. He likewise animated the people in his usual manner, and inspired them with fresh hopes; in consequence of which he was sent ambassador to Thebes, some others being joined in commission with him. Philip too, on his part, as Maryas informs us, sent Amyntus and Clearchus, two Macedonians, Doachus the Thessalian, and Thrasidæus the Elean, to answer the Athenian deputies. The Thebans were not ignorant what way their true interest pointed; but each of them had the evils of war before his eyes; for their Phocian wounds were still fresh upon them. However, the powers of the orator, as Theopompus tells us, rekindled their courage and ambition so effectually that all other objects were

disregarded. They lost sight of fear, of caution, of every prior attachment, and, through the force of his eloquence, fell with enthusiastic transports into the path of honour.

So powerful, indeed, were the efforts of the orator, that Philip immediately sent ambassadors to Athens to apply for peace. Greece recovered her spirits, whilst she stood waiting for the event; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Bœotia, were ready to execute the commands of Demosthenes. All the assemblies, as well those of Thebes as those of Athens, were under his direction: he was equally beloved, equally powerful, in both places; and, as Theopompus shews, it was no more than his merit claimed. But the superior power of fortune, which seems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece to a period at that time, opposed and baffled all the measures that could be taken.

As to Demosthenes, he is said to have had such confidence in the Grecian arms, and to have been so much elated with the courage and spirit of so many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would not suffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them, that he suspected the prophetess herself of "Philippising." He put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, how they reckoned such things as mere pretexts of cowardice, and pursued the plan which their reason had dictated. Thus far Demosthenes acquitted himself like a man of spirit and honour. But in the battle he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things he had spoken. He quitted his post; he threw away his arms; he fled in the most infamous manner; and was not ashamed, as Pytheas says, to belie the inscription which he had put upon his shield in golden characters, TO GOOD FORTUNE.

The fame of Demosthenes reached the Persian court ; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to supply him with money, and to attend to him more than to any other man in Greece ; because he best knew how to make a diversion in his favour, by raising fresh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This Alexander afterwards discovered by the letters of Demosthenes which he found at Sardis ; the papers of the Persian governors expressing the sums which had been given him.

When the Greeks had lost this great battle, those of the contrary faction attacked Demosthenes, and brought a variety of public accusations against him. The people, however, not only acquitted him, but treated him with the same respect as before, and called him to the helm again, as a person whom they knew to be a well-wisher to his country. So that, when the bones of those who fell at Chæronea were brought home to be interred, they pitched upon Demosthenes to make the funeral oration. They were, therefore, so far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and ungenerous manner, as Theopompus, in a tragical strain, represents it, that by the great honour they did the counsellor, they shewed they did not repent of having followed his advice.

Demosthenes accordingly made the oration. But, after this, he did not prefix his own name to his edicts, because he considered fortune as inauspicious to him ; but sometimes that of one friend, sometimes that of another, till he recovered his spirits upon the death of Philip : for that prince did not long survive his victory at Chæronea, and his fate seemed to be presignified in a verse of an old prophecy from the Sibylline books,—

“And see the vanquish’d weep, the victor die!”

Demosthenes now solicited the states of Greece again, and they entered once more into the league. The Thebans, being furnished with arms by Demosthenes, attacked the garrison in their citadel, and killed great numbers; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demosthenes mounted the rostrum almost every day; and he wrote to the king of Persia's lieutenants in Asia, to invite them to commence hostilities from that quarter against Alexander, whom he called a "boy," "a second Margites."

But when Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country, and marched into Bœotia with all his forces, the pride of the Athenians was humbled, and the spirit of Demosthenes died away. They deserted the Thebans; and that unhappy people had to stand the whole fury of the war by themselves; in consequence of which they lost their city. The Athenians were in great trouble and confusion: and they could think of no better measure than the sending Demosthenes, and some others, ambassadors to Alexander. But Demosthenes, dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at Mount Cithæron, and relinquished his commission. Alexander immediately sent deputies to Athens, who (according to Idomeneus and Duris) demanded that they would deliver up ten of their orators. But the greatest part, and those the most reputable of the historians, say, that he demanded only these eight, Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Calisthenes, and Charidemus. On this occasion, Demosthenes addressed the people in the fable of the sheep, who were to give up their dogs to the wolves, before they would grant them peace: by which he insinuated, that he and the other orators were the guards of the people, as the dogs were of the flocks; and that Alexander was the

great wolf they had to treat with. And again : " As we see merchants carrying about a small sample in a dish, by which they sell large quantities of wheat : so you, in us, without knowing it, deliver up the whole body of citizens." These particulars we have from Aristobulus of Cassandria.

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly ; and Demades seeing them in great perplexity, offered to go alone to the king of Macedon, and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them would give him five talents ; whether it was that he depended upon the friendship that prince had for him, or whether he hoped to find him, like a lion, satiated with blood, he succeeded, however, in his application for the orators, and reconciled Alexander to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades, and the other orators of his party, greatly increased ; and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true, he raised his head a little when Agis, king of Sparta, took the field ; but it soon fell again ; for the Athenians refused to join him. Agis was killed in battle, and the Lacedæmonians entirely routed.

About this time, the affair " concerning the crown," came again upon the carpet. The information was first laid under the archonship of Chærondas ; and the cause was not determined till ten years after, under Aristophon. It was the most celebrated cause that ever was pleaded, as well on account of the reputation of the orators, as the generous behaviour of the judges : for, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then in great power, as being entirely in the Macedonian interest, the judges would not give their voices against him ; but, on the contrary, acquitted him so honourably that Æschines had not a fifth part of the suf-

frages. Æschines immediately quitted Athens, and spent the rest of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

It was not long after this that Harpalus came from Asia to Athens. He had fled from the service of Alexander, both because he was conscious to himself of having falsified his trust, to minister to his pleasures, and because he dreaded his master, who now was become terrible to his best friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for shelter, and desired protection for his ships and treasures, most of the orators had an eye upon the gold, and supported his application with all their interest. Demosthenes at first advised them to order Harpalus off immediately, and to be particularly careful not to involve the city in war again, without any just or necessary cause.

Yet a few days after, when they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus perceiving that Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the workmanship and fashion, desired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being surprised at the weight, and asking Harpalus how much it might bring, he smiled, and said, "It will bring you twenty talents." And as soon as it was night, he sent him the cup with that sum. For Harpalus knew well enough how to distinguish a man's passion for gold, by his pleasure at the sight and the keen looks he cast upon it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation: it made all the impression upon him that was expected; he received the money, like a garrison, into his house, and went over to the interest of Harpalus. Next day he came into the assembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck; and when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he made signs that he had lost his voice. Upon which some

that were by said, "It was no common hoarseness that he got in the night ; it was a hoarseness occasioned by swallowing gold and silver." Afterwards, when all the people were apprised of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to speak in his own defence, they would not suffer him, but raised a clamour, and expressed their indignation. At the same time, somebody or other stood up, and said sneeringly, "Will you not listen to the man with the cup?" The Athenians then immediately sent Harpalus off ; and fearing they might be called to account for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made a strict inquiry after it, and searched all their houses, except that of Callicles the son of Arenides, whom they spared, as Theopompus says, because he was newly married, and his bride was in his house.

At the same time Demosthenes, seemingly with a design to prove his innocence, moved for an order that the affair should be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all persons punished who should be found guilty of taking bribes. In consequence of which, he appeared before that court, and was one of the first that were convicted. Being sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be imprisoned till it was paid, the disgrace of his conviction, and the weakness of his constitution, which could not bear close confinement, determined him to fly ; and this he did, undiscovered by some, and assisted by others.

During the exile of Demosthenes, Alexander died. The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leosthenes performed great things ; and, among the rest, drew a line of circumvallation around Antipater, whom he had shut up in Lamia. Pytheas the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, left Athens, and, going over to Antipater, accompanied his friends and ambassadors in their applications to

the Greeks, and in persuading them not to desert the Macedonian cause, nor listen to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demosthenes joined the Athenian deputies, and exerted himself greatly with them in exhorting the states to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Philarchus tells us, that, in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demosthenes spoke with great acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have said, "As some sickness is always supposed to be in the house into which ass's milk is brought; so the city which an Athenian embassy ever enters must necessarily be in a sick and decaying condition." Demosthenes turned the comparison against him, by saying, "As ass's milk never enters but for curing the sick; so the Athenians never appear but for remedying some disorder."

The people of Athens were so much pleased with this repartee, that they immediately voted for the recall of Demosthenes. It was Damon the Pæanean, cousin-german to Demosthenes, who drew up the decree. A galley was sent to fetch him from Ægina; and when he came up from the Piræus to Athens, the whole body of the citizens went to meet and congratulate him on his return; insomuch that there was neither a magistrate nor priest left in the town. Demetrius of Magnesia acquaints us, that Demosthenes lifted up his hands towards heaven in thanks for that happy day. "Happier," said he, "is my return than that of Alcibiades. It was through compassion that the Athenians restored him, but me they have recalled from a motive of kindness."

But he did not long enjoy his return to his country. The affairs of Greece soon went to ruin. They lost the battle of

Crano in the month of August, a Macedonian garrison entered Munychia in September, and Demosthenes lost his life in October.

It happened in the following manner. When news was brought that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demosthenes and those of his party hastened to get out privately before their arrival. Hereupon, the people, at the motion of Demades, condemned them to death. As they fled different ways, Antipater sent a company of soldiers about the country to seize them. Archias, surnamed "Phugadotherasa the exile hunter," was their captain.

Being informed that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, he and his Thracian soldiers passed over to it in row boats. As soon as he was landed, he went to the orator, and endeavoured to persuade him to quit the temple, and go with him to Antipater; assuring him that he had no hard measure to expect. But it happened that Demosthenes had seen a strange vision the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias, which could play the tragedian the best; that he succeeded in his action; had the audience on his side, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dresses and decorations of the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addressed him with great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes on him, and said, without rising from his seat, "Neither your action moved me formerly, nor do your promises move me now." Archias then began to threaten him; upon which he said, "Before, you acted a part; now you speak as from the Macedonian tripod. Only wait awhile till I have sent my last orders to my family." So saying, he retired into the inner part of the temple: and, taking some paper, as if he

meant to write, he put the pen in his mouth, and bit it a considerable time, as he used to do when thoughtful about his composition: after which, he covered his head and put it in a reclining posture. The soldiers who stood at the door, apprehending that he took these methods to put off the fatal stroke, laughed at him, and called him a coward. Archias then approaching him, desired him to rise, and began to repeat the promises of making his peace with Antipater. Demosthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poison he had taken strong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias, "Now," said he, "you may act the part of Creon in the play as soon as you please, and cast out this carcass of mine unburied. For my part, O gracious Neptune! I quit thy temple with my breath within me. But Antipater and the Macedonians would not have scrupled to profane it with murder." By this time he could scarcely stand, and therefore desired them to support him. But, in attempting to walk out, he fell by the altar, and expired with a groan.

ALEXANDER.

BORN B.C. 355—DIED 323.



ALEXANDER was born on the sixth of Hecatombœon [July], which the Macedonians call Lous, the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burned; upon which Hegesias the Magnesian has uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguished the flames. "It is no wonder," said he, "that the temple of Diana was burned, when she was at a distance, employed in bringing Alexander into the world." All the Magi who were then at Ephesus looked upon the fire as a sign which betokened a much greater misfortune: they ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying, "That the day had brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia."

Philip had just taken the city of Potidæa, and three messengers arrived the same day with extraordinary tidings. The first informed him that Parmenio had gained a great battle against the Illyrians; the second, that his racehorse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was brought to bed of Alexander. His joy on that occasion was great, as might naturally be expected; and the soothsayers increased it, by assuring him that his son, who was born in the midst of three victories, must of course prove invincible.

The statues of Alexander that most resembled him were those of Lysippus, who alone had his permission to represent him in marble. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one side, and the quickness of his eye, in which many of his friends and successors most affected to imitate him, were best hit off by that artist. Apelles painted him in the character of Jupiter armed with thunder, but did not succeed as to his complexion. He overcharged the colouring, and made his skin too brown ; whereas he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breast.

His continence shewed itself at an early period ; for, though he was vigorous, or rather violent, in his other pursuits, he was not easily moved by the pleasures of the body ; and if he tasted them, it was with great moderation. But there was something superlatively great and sublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not all sorts of honour that he courted, nor did he seek it in every track, like his father Philip, who was as proud of his eloquence as any sophist could be, and who had the vanity to record his victories in the Olympic chariot-race in the impression of his coins. Alexander, on the other hand, when he was asked by some of the people about him, "Whether he would not run in the Olympic race?" (for he was swift of foot) answered, "Yes, if I had kings for my antagonists."

Ambassadors from Persia happening to arrive in the absence of his father Philip, and Alexander, receiving them in his stead, gained upon them greatly by his politeness and solid sense. He asked them no childish or trifling question, but inquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Asia ; he desired to be informed of the character of their king, in what manner he behaved to his enemies, and in what the strength and power of Persia con-

sisted. The ambassadors were struck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated shrewdness of Philip as nothing in comparison of the lofty and enterprising genius of his son. Accordingly, whenever news was brought that Philip had taken some strong town, or won some great battle, the young man, instead of appearing delighted with it, used to say to his companions, "My father will go on conquering, till there be nothing extraordinary left for you and me to do." As neither pleasure nor riches, but valour and glory, were his great objects, he thought, that in proportion as the dominions he was to receive from his father grew greater, there would be less room for him to distinguish himself. Every new acquisition of territory he considered as a diminution of his scene of action; for he did not desire to inherit a kingdom that would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleasure; but one that would afford him wars, conflicts, and all the exercise of great ambition.

When Philonicus, the Thessalian, offered the horse named Bucephalus in sale to Philip, at the price of thirteen talents, the king, with the prince and many others, went into the field to see some trial made of him. The horse appeared extremely vicious and unmanageable, and was so far from suffering himself to be mounted, that he would not bear to be spoken to, but turned fiercely upon all the grooms. Philip was displeased at their bringing him so wild and ungovernable a horse, and bade them take him away. But Alexander, who had observed him well, said, "What a horse are they losing, for want of skill and spirit to manage him!" Philip at first took no notice of this; but, upon the prince's often repeating the same expression, and shewing great uneasiness, he said, "Young man, you find fault with your elders, as if you knew more

than they, or could manage the horse better." "And I certainly could," answered the prince. "If you should not be able to ride him, what forfeiture will you submit to for your rashness?" "I will pay the price of the horse."

Upon this all the company laughed, but the king and prince agreeing as to the forfeiture. Alexander ran to the horse, and laying hold on the bridle, turned him to the sun; for he had observed, it seems, that the shadow which fell before the horse, and continually moved as he moved, greatly disturbed him. While his fierceness and fury lasted, he kept speaking to him softly and stroking him; after which he gently let fall his mantle, leaped lightly upon his back, and got his seat very safe. Then, without pulling the reins too hard, or using either whip or spur, he set him a-going. As soon as he perceived his uneasiness abated, and that he wanted only to run, he put him in a full gallop, and pushed him on both with the voice and spur.

Philip and all his court were in great distress for him at first, and a profound silence took place. But when the prince had turned him and brought him straight back, they all received him with loud acclamations, except his father, who wept for joy, and, kissing him, said, "Seek another kingdom, my son, that may be worthy of thy abilities; for Macedonia is too small for thee." Perceiving that he did not easily submit to authority, because he would not be forced to any thing, but that he might be led to his duty by the gentler hand of reason, he took the method of persuasion rather than of command. He saw that his education was a matter of too great importance to be trusted to the ordinary masters in music, and the common circle of sciences; and that his genius (to use the expression of Sophocles) required

"The rudder's guidance and the curb's restrain."

He therefore sent for Aristotle, the most celebrated and learned of all the philosophers ; and the reward he gave him for forming his son was not only honourable, but remarkable for its propriety. He had formerly dismantled the city of Stagira, where that philosopher was born, and now he rebuilt it, and re-established the inhabitants, who had either fled or been reduced to slavery. He also prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their studies and literary conversations ; where they still shew us Aristotle's stone, seats, and shady walks.

Alexander gained from him not only moral and political knowledge, but was also instructed in those more secret and profound branches of science, which they call "acroamatic" and "epoptic," and which they did not communicate to every common scholar. For when Alexander was in Asia, and received information that Aristotle had published some books, in which those points were discussed, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philosophy, in which he blamed the course he had taken. The following is a copy of it:—

"Alexander to Aristotle, prosperity. You did wrong in publishing the "acroamatic" parts of science. In what shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge which we gained from you be made common to all the world ? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk of mankind in the superior parts of learning than in the extent of power and dominion. Farewell."

Aristotle, in compliment to this ambition of his, and by way of excuse for himself, made answer, that those points were published and not published. In fact, his book of metaphysics is written in such a manner, that no one can learn that branch of science from it, much less teach it

others : it serves only to refresh the memories of those who have been taught by a master.

When Philip went upon his expedition against Byzantium, Alexander was only sixteen years of age, yet he was left regent of Macedonia and keeper of the seal. The Medari rebelling during his regency, he attacked and overthrew them, took their city, expelled the barbarians, planted there a colony of people collected from various parts, and gave it the name of Alexandropolis. He fought in the battle of Chæronca against the Greeks, and is said to have been the first man that broke the "sacred band" of Thebans. In our times an old oak was shewn near the Cephissus, called "Alexander's oak," because his tent had been pitched under it ; and a piece of ground at no great distance, in which the Macedonians had buried their dead.

This early display of great talents made Philip very fond of his son, so that it was with pleasure he heard the Macedonians call Alexander "king," and him only "general." But the troubles which his new marriage and his amours caused in his family, and the bickerings among the women dividing the whole kingdom into parties, involved him in many quarrels with his son ; all which were heightened by Olympias, who, being a woman of a jealous and vindictive temper, inspired Alexander with unfavourable sentiments of his father. The misunderstanding broke out into a flame on the following occasion : Philip fell in love with a young lady named Cleopatra, at an unseasonable time of life, and married her. When they were celebrating the nuptials, her uncle Attalus, intoxicated with liquor, desired the Macedonians to entreat the gods that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander, provoked at this, said, "What then,

dost thou take me for a bastard?" and at the same time he threw his cup at his head. Hereupon Philip rose up and drew his sword; but, fortunately for them both, his passion and the wine he had drunk made him stumble, and he fell. Alexander, taking an insolent advantage of this circumstance, said, "Men of Macedon, see there the man who was preparing to pass from Europe into Asia! He is not able to pass from one table to another without falling." After this insult, he carried off Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country he pitched upon for his own retreat.

In the meantime, Demaratus, who had engagements of hospitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who, on that account, could speak his mind freely, came to pay Philip a visit. After the first civilities, Philip asked him, "What sort of agreement subsisted among the Greeks?" Demaratus answered, "There is, doubtless, much propriety in your inquiring after the harmony of Greece, who have filled your own house with so much discord and disorder." This reproof brought Philip to himself, and through the mediation of Demaratus, he prevailed with Alexander to return.

Some time afterwards, Pausanias being abused by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, and not having justice done him for the outrage, killed Philip, who refused that justice. Olympias was thought to have been principally concerned in inciting the young man to that act of revenge; but Alexander did not escape uncensured. It is said that when Pausanias applied to him, after having been so dishonoured, and lamented his misfortune, Alexander by way of answer repeated that line in the tragedy of Medea,—

"The bridal father, bridegroom and the bride."

It must be acknowledged, however, that he caused diligent search to be made after the persons concerned in the assassination, and took care to have them punished; and he expressed his indignation at Olympias's cruel treatment of Cleopatra in his absence.

He was only twenty years old when he succeeded to the crown, and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties and implacable animosities. The barbarous nations, even those that bordered upon Macedonia, could not brook subjection, and they longed for their natural kings. Philip had subdued Greece by his victorious arms, but not having had time to accustom her to the yoke, he had thrown matters into confusion, rather than produced any firm settlement, and he left the whole in a tumultuous state. The young king's Macedonian counsellors, alarmed at the troubles which threatened him, advised him to give up Greece entirely, or at least to make no attempts upon it with the sword; and to recall the wavering barbarians in a mild manner to their duty, by applying healing measures to the beginning of the revolt. Alexander, on the contrary, was of opinion, that the only way to security and a thorough establishment of his affairs was to proceed with spirit and magnanimity. For he was persuaded, that if he appeared to abate of his dignity in the least article, he would be universally insulted. He therefore quieted the commotions, and put a stop to the rising war among the barbarians, by marching with the utmost expedition as far as the Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, king of the Triballi, and defeated him.

Some time after this, having intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the same sentiments, he resolved to shew them he was no longer a

boy, and advanced immediately through the pass of Thermopylæ. "Demosthenes," said he, "called me a boy, while I was in Illyricum, and among the Triballi, and a stripling when in Thessaly; but I will shew him before the walls of Athens that I am a man."

When he made his appearance before Thebes, he was willing to give the inhabitants time to change their sentiments. He only demanded Phoenix and Prothytes, the first promoters of the revolt, and proclaimed an amnesty to all the rest. But the Thebans, in their turn, demanded that he should deliver up to them Philotas and Antipater, and invited, by sound of trumpet, all men to join them who chose to assist, in recovering the liberty of Greece. Alexander then gave the reins to the Macedonians, and the war began with great fury. The Thebans, who had the combat to maintain against forces vastly superior in number behaved with a courage and ardour far above their strength. But when the Macedonian garrison fell down from Cadmea, and charged them in the rear, they were surrounded on all sides, and most of them cut in pieces. The city was taken, plundered, and levelled with the ground.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them; though they expressed great concern at the misfortune of Thebes. For, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feast of the great mysteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place, and received such of the Thebans as escaped the general wreck, with all imaginable kindness into their city. But whether his fury, like that of a lion, was satiated with blood, or whether he had a mind to efface a most cruel and barbarous action by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints he had against them, but desired them to look well to their affairs, because

if anything happened to him, Athens would give law to Greece.

A general assembly of the Greeks being held at the Isthmus of Corinth, they came to a resolution to send their quotas with Alexander against the Persians, and he was unanimously elected captain-general. Many statesmen and philosophers came to congratulate him on the occasion ; and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number. Finding, however, that he made but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leisure in a part of the suburbs called Cranium, he went to see him. Diogenes happened to be lying in the sun ; and at the approach of so many people, he raised himself up a little, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. The king addressed him in an obliging manner, and asked him, "If there was anything he could serve him in?" "Only stand a little out of my sunshine," said Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was struck with such surprise at finding himself so little regarded, and saw something so great in that carelessness, that, while his courtiers were ridiculing the philosopher as a monster, he said, "If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes."

He chose to consult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpose went to Delphi. He happened to arrive there on one of the days called inauspicious, upon which the law permitted no man to put his question. At first he sent to the prophetess, to entreat her to do her office ; but finding she refused to comply, and alleged the law in her excuse, he went himself, and drew her by force into the temple. Then, as if conquered by his violence, she said, "My son, thou art invincible." Alexander hearing this,

said, "He wanted no other answer, for he had the very oracle he desired."

As to the number of his troops, those that put it at the least, say he carried over thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; and they who put it at the most, tell us his army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse. The money provided for their subsistence and pay, according to Aristobulus, was only seventy talents. Durius says, he had no more than would maintain them one month; but Onesicritus affirms, that he borrowed two hundred talents for that purpose.

As soon as he landed, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon Achilles's tomb with oil, and ran round it with his friends, naked, according to the custom that obtains; after which he put a crown upon it, declaring, "He thought that hero extremely happy, in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death an excellent herald to set forth his praise." As he went about the city to look upon the curiosities, he was asked, whether he chose to see Paris's lyre? "I set but little value," said he, "upon the lyre of Paris; but it would give me pleasure to see that of Achilles, to which he sung the glorious actions of the brave."

In the meantime, Darius's generals had assembled a great army, and taken post upon the banks of the Granicus; so that Alexander was under the necessity of fighting there, to open the gates of Asia. Many of his officers were apprehensive of the depth of the river, and the rough and uneven banks on the other side; and some thought a proper regard should be paid to a traditionary usage with respect to the time. For the kings of Macedon used never to march out

to war in the month Daisius. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called "the second Artemisius." And when Parmenio objected to his attempting a passage so late in the day, he said, "The Hellespont would blush, if after having passed it, he should be afraid of the Granicus." At the same time he threw himself into the stream with thirteen troops of horse: and as he advanced in the face of the enemy's arrows, in spite of the steep banks, which were lined with cavalry well armed, and of the rapidity of the river, which often bore him down or covered him with its waves, his motions seemed rather the effects of madness than sound sense. He held on, however, till by great and surprising efforts, he gained the opposite banks, which the mud made extremely slippery and dangerous. When he was there, he was forced to stand an engagement with the enemy, hand to hand, and with great confusion on his part, because they attacked his men as fast as they came over, before he had time to form them. For the Persian troops, charging with loud shouts, and with horse against horse, made good use of their spears, and, when those were broken, of their swords.

Numbers pressed hard on Alexander, because he was easy to be distinguished both by his buckler, and by his crest, on each side of which was a large and beautiful plume of white feathers. His cuirass was pierced by a javelin at the joint; but he escaped unhurt. After this, Rhoesaces and Spithridates, two officers of great distinction, attacked him at once. He avoided Spithridates with great address, and received Rhœsaces with such a stroke of his spear upon his breastplate, that it broke it in pieces. Then he drew his sword to despatch him, but his adversary still maintained the combat. Meantime, Spithridates came up on one side of him,

and raising himself up on his horse, gave him a blow with his battle-axe, which cut off his crest with one side of the plume. Nay, the force of it was such, that the helmet could hardly resist it ; it even penetrated to his hair. Spithridates was going to repeat his stroke, when the celebrated Clitus prevented him, by running him through the body with a spear. At the same time Alexander brought Rhœsaces to the ground with his sword.

While the cavalry were fighting with so much fury, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and then the infantry likewise engaged. The enemy made no great or long resistance, but soon turned their backs and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who making a stand upon an eminence, desired Alexander to give his word of honour that they should be spared. But that prince, influenced rather by his passion than his reason, instead of giving them quarter, advanced to attack them, and was so warmly received, that he had his horse killed under him. It was not, however, the famous Bucephalus. In this dispute he had more of his men killed and wounded than in all the rest of the battle ; for here they had to do with experienced soldiers, who fought with a courage heightened with despair.

The barbarians, we are told, lost in this battle twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse ; whereas Alexander had no more than thirty-four men killed, nine of which were the infantry. To do honour to their memory, he erected a statue to each of them in brass, the workmanship of Lysippus. And that the Greeks might have their share in the glory of the day, he sent them presents out of the spoil : to the Athenians in particular he sent three hundred bucklers. Upon the rest of the spoils he put this pompous inscription : “ Won by Alexander the son of Philip,

and the Greeks (excepting the Lacedæmonians,) of the barbarians in Asia." The greatest part of the plate, the purple furniture, and other things of that kind which he took from the Persians, he sent to his mother.

This battle made a great and immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs, insomuch that Sardius, the principal ornament of the Persian empire on the maritime side, made its submission. All the other cities followed its example, except Halicarnassus and Miletus; these he took by storm, and subdued all the adjacent country. After this he remained some time in suspense as to the course he should take. One while he was for going with great expedition, to risk all upon the fate of one battle with Darius; another while he was for first reducing all the maritime provinces; that when he had exercised and strengthened himself by those intermediate actions and acquisitions, he might then march against that prince.

After this he subdued such of the Pisidians as had revolted, and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium, which is said to have been the seat of the ancient Midas, he found the famous chariot, fastened with cords, made of the bark of the cornel-tree, and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the barbarians, "That the Fates had decreed the empire of the world to the man who should untie the knot." Most historians say that it was twisted so many private ways, and the ends so artfully concealed within, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it asunder with his sword, and so made many ends instead of two. But Aristobulus affirms, that he easily untied it, by taking out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itself.

By this time Darius had taken his departure from Susa,

full of confidence in his numbers, for his army consisted of no less than six hundred thousand combatants ; and greatly encouraged besides by a dream, which the Magi had interpreted rather in the manner they thought would please him than with a regard to probability. He dreamed "that he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and that Alexander, in the dress which he, Darius, had formerly worn when one of the king's couriers, acted as his servant ; after which Alexander went into the temple of Belus, and there suddenly disappeared." By this Heaven seems to have signified, that prosperity and honour would attend the Macedonians ; and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius before him, who, of a simple courier, became a king ; but that he would nevertheless soon die, and leave his glory behind him.

Darius was still more encouraged by Alexander's long stay in Cilicia, which he looked upon as the effect of his fear. But the real cause of his stay was sickness, which some attribute to his great fatigues, and others to his bathing in the river Cydnus, whose water is extremely cold. His physicians durst not give him any medicines, because they thought themselves not so certain of the cure, as of the danger they must incur in the application ; for they feared the Macedonians, if they did not succeed, would suspect them of some bad practice. Philip, the Acarnanian, saw how desperate the king's case was, as well as the rest ; but, beside the confidence he had in his friendship, he thought it the highest ingratitude, when his master was in so much danger, not to risk something with him, in exhausting all his art for his relief. He therefore attempted the cure, and found no difficulty in persuading the king to wait with patience till his medicine was prepared, or to take it when

ready ; so desirous was he of a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the war.

In the meantime, Parmenio sent him a letter from the camp, advising him "to beware of Philip, whom," he said, "Darius had prevailed upon, by presents of infinite value, and the promise of his daughter in marriage, to take him off by poison." As soon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without shewing it to any of his friends. The time appointed being come, Philip, with the king's friends, entered the chamber, having the cup which contained the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely, without the least marks of suspicion, and at the same time put the letter in his hands. It was a striking situation, and more interesting than any scene in a tragedy ; the one reading while the other was drinking. They looked upon each other, but with a very different air. The king, with an open and unembarrassed countenance, expressed his regard for Philip, and the confidence he had in his honour ; Philip's looks shewed his indignation at the calumny. One while he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, protesting his fidelity ; another while he threw himself down by the bedside, entreating his master to be of good courage and trust to his care.

The medicine, indeed, was so strong, and overpowered his spirits in such a manner, that at first he was speechless, and discovered scarce any sign of sense or life, but afterwards he was soon relieved by his faithful physician, and recovered so well that he was able to shew himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate till he came personally before them.

There was in the army of Darius a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who knew perfectly well the disposition of

Alexander. This man, perceiving that Darius prepared to march through the straits in quest of Alexander, begged of him to remain where he was, and take the advantage of receiving an enemy, so much inferior to him in number, upon large and spacious plains. Darius answered, "He was afraid in that case the enemy would fly without coming to an action, and Alexander escape him." "If that is all you fear," replied the Macedonian, "let it give you no further uneasiness; for he will come to seek you, and is already on his march." However, his representations had no effect: Darius set out for Cilicia; and Alexander was making for Syria in quest of him; but happening to miss each other in the night, they both turned back; Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and hastening to meet Darius in the straits; while Darius endeavoured to disengage himself, and recover his former camp. For by this time he was sensible of his error in throwing himself into ground hemmed in by the sea on one side, and the mountains on the other, and intersected by the river Pinarus; so that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in small and broken parties, while, at the same time, this situation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander as to the scene of action; but the skilful disposition of his forces contributed still more to his gaining the victory. As his army was very small in comparison of that of Darius, he took care to draw it up so as to prevent its being surrounded, by stretching out his right wing farther than the enemy's left. In that wing he acted in person, and, fighting in the foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. He was wounded, however, in the thigh, and, according to Chares, by Darius, who engaged him hand to hand. But Alexander, in the account

he gave Antipater of the battle, does not mention who it was that wounded him. He only says, he received a wound in his thigh by a sword, and that no dangerous consequences followed it.

The victory was a very signal one ; for he killed above a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy. Nothing was wanting to complete it but the taking of Darius ; and that prince escaped narrowly, having got the start of his pursuer only by four or five furlongs. Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. He found them loading themselves with the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was rich and various ; though Darius, to make his troops fitter for action, had left most of the baggage in Damascus. The Macedonians had reserved for their master the tent of Darius, in which he found officers of the household magnificently clothed, rich furniture, and great quantities of gold and silver.

As soon as he had put off his armour, he went to the bath, saying to those about him, "Let us go and refresh ourselves, after the fatigues of the field, in the bath of Darius." "Nay, rather," said one of his friends, "in the bath of Alexander ; for the goods of the conquered are, and shall be called, the conqueror's." When he had taken a view of the basins, vials, boxes, and other vases curiously wrought in gold, smelled the fragrant odours of essences, and seen the splendid furniture of spacious apartments, he turned to his friends, and said, "This, then, it seems, it was to be a king !"

As he was sitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the prisoners were the mother and wife of Darius, and two unmarried daughters ; and that upon seeing his chariot and bow, they broke out into great lamentations,

concluding that he was dead. Alexander, after some pause, during which he was rather commiserating their misfortunes than rejoicing in his own success, sent Leonatus to assure them "that Darius was not dead ; that they had nothing to fear from Alexander, for his dispute with Darius was only for empire ; and that they should find themselves provided for in the same manner as when Darius was in his greatest prosperity." If this message to the captive princesses was gracious and humane, his actions were still more so. He allowed them to do the funeral honours to what Persians they pleased, and for that purpose furnished them out of the spoils with robes, and all the other decorations that were customary. They had as many domestics, and were served, in all respects, in as honourable a manner as before ; indeed, their appointments were greater. But there was another part of his behaviour to them still more noble and princely. Though they were now captives, he considered that they were ladies, not only of high rank, but of great modesty and virtue, and took care that they should not hear an indecent word, nor have the least cause to suspect any danger to their honour. Nay, as if they had been in a holy temple, or asylum of virgins, rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unseen and unapproached, in the most sacred privacy.

It is said, the wife of Darius was one of the most beautiful women, as Darius was one of the tallest and handsomest men in the world, and that their daughters much resembled them. But Alexander, no doubt, thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himself than to subdue his enemies, and therefore never approached one of them.

It appeared to Alexander a matter of great importance, before he went farther, to gain the maritime powers. Upon

application, the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia made their submission : only Tyre held out. He besieged that city seven months, during which time he erected vast mounds of earth, plied it with his engines, and invested it on the side next the sea with two hundred galleys. He had a dream in which he saw Hercules offering him his hand from the wall, and inviting him to enter. And many of the Tyrians dreamed "that Apollo declared he would go over to Alexander, because he was displeased with their behaviour in the town." Hereupon the Tyrians, as if the god had been a deserter taken in the fact, loaded his statue with chains, and nailed the feet to the pedestal ; not scrupling to call him an Alexandrist. In another dream Alexander thought he saw a satyr playing before him at some distance ; and when he advanced to take him the savage eluded his grasp. However, at last, after much coaxing and taking many circuits round him, he prevailed with him to surrender himself. The interpreters, plausibly enough, divided the Greek term for satyr into two, "*Sa Tyros*," which signifies "*Tyre is thine*." They still shew us a fountain, near which Alexander is said to have seen that vision.

As for the siege, it was brought to a termination in this manner. Alexander had permitted his main body to repose themselves, after the long and severe fatigues they had undergone, and ordered only some small parties to keep the Tyrians in play. In the meantime, Aristander, his principal soothsayer, offered sacrifices ; and one day, upon inspecting the entrails of the victim, he boldly asserted among those about him, that the city would certainly be taken that month. As it happened then to be the last day of the month, his assertion was received with ridicule and scorn. The king perceiving he was disconcerted, and making it a

point to bring the prophecies of his ministers to completion, gave orders that the day should not be called the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth of the month. At the same time he called out his forces by sound of trumpet, and made a much more vigorous assault than he at first intended. The attack was violent, and those who were left behind in the camp quitted it to have a share in it, and to support their fellow-soldiers; insomuch that the Tyrians were forced to give out, and the city was taken that very day.

From thence he marched into Syria, and laid siege to Gaza, the capital of that country. While he was employed there, a bird, as it flew by, let fall a clod of earth upon his shoulder, and then going to perch on the cross cords with which they turned the engines, was entangled and taken. The event answered Aristander's interpretation of this sign: Alexander was wounded in the shoulder, but he took the city. He sent most of its spoils to Olympias and Cleopatra, and others of his friends. His tutor Leonidas was not forgotten, and the present he made him had something particular in it. It consisted of five hundred talents' weight of frankincense, and a hundred of myrrh, and was sent upon recollection of the hopes he had conceived when a boy. It seems Leonidas one day had observed Alexander at a sacrifice throwing incense into the fire by handfuls; upon which he said, "Alexander, when you have conquered the country where spices grow, you may be thus liberal of your incense; but, in the meantime, use what you have more sparingly." He therefore wrote thus:—"I have sent you frankincense and myrrh in abundance, that you may be no longer a churl to the gods."

When Alexander had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a great city, which was to be peopled with Greeks,

and called after his own name, by the advice of his architects he had marked out a piece of ground, and was preparing to lay the foundation ; but a wonderful dream made him fix upon another situation. He thought a person with gray hair and a very venerable aspect approached him, and repeated the following lines :—

“ High o’er a gulfy sea the Pharian isle
Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile.”

Alexander, upon this, immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, but now is joined to the continent by a causeway. He no sooner cast his eyes upon the place, than he perceived the commodiousness of the situation. It is a tongue of land, not unlike an isthmus, whose breadth is proportionable to its length. On one side it has a great lake, on the other the sea, which there forms a capacious harbour. This led him to declare, that “Homer, among his other admirable qualifications, was an excellent architect,” and he ordered a city to be planned suitable to the ground, and its appendant conveniences. For want of chalk they made use of flour, which answered well enough upon a black soil, and they drew a line with it about the semicircular bay. The arms of this semicircle were terminated by straight lines, so that the whole was in the form of a Macedonian cloak.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and went to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey ; and besides the fatigue, there were two great dangers attending it. The one was, that their water might fail, in a desert of many days’ journey which afforded no supply ; and the other, that they might

be surprised by a violent south wind amidst the wastes of sand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyses. The wind raised the sand, and rolled it in such waves, that it devoured full fifty thousand men. These difficulties were considered and represented to Alexander; but it was not easy to divert him from any of his purposes. Fortune had supported him in such a manner, that his resolutions were become invincibly strong; and his courage inspired him with such a spirit of adventure, that he thought it not enough to be victorious in the field, but he must conquer both time and place.

The divine assistances which Alexander experienced in his march met with more credit than the oracles delivered at the end of it; though those extraordinary assistances, in some measure, confirmed the oracles. In the first place, Jupiter sent such a copious and constant rain, as not only delivered them from all fear of suffering by thirst, but, by moistening the sand, and making it firm to the foot, made the air clear and fit for respiration. In the next place, when they found the marks which were to serve for guides to travellers removed or defaced, and in consequence wandered up and down without any certain route, a flock of crows made their appearance, and directed them in the way. When they marched briskly on, the crows flew with equal alacrity; when they lagged behind, or halted, the crows also stopped. What is still stranger, Calisthenes avers, that at night, when they happened to be gone wrong, these birds called them by their croaking, and put them right again.

When he had passed the desert, and was arrived at the place, the minister of Ammon received him with salutations from the god, as from a father. And when he inquired, "Whether any of the assassins of his father had escaped

him?" the priest desired he would not express himself in that manner, "for his father was not a mortal." Then he asked, "Whether all the murderers of Philip were punished; and whether it was given the proponent to be the conqueror of the world?" Jupiter answered, "That he granted him that high distinction; and that the death of Philip was sufficiently avenged." Upon this Alexander made his acknowledgments to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the priests with presents of great value. This is the account most historians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himself, in the letter he wrote to his mother on that occasion, only says, "He received certain private answers from the oracle, which he would communicate to her, and her only, at his return."

Some say, Ammon's prophet being desirous to address him in an obliging manner in Greek, intended to say, "O paidion," which signifies, "My son;" but in his barbarous pronunciation, made the word end with an *s*, instead of an *n*, and so said, "O pai dios," which signifies, "O son of Jupiter." Alexander (they add) was delighted with the mistake in the pronunciation, and from that mistake was propagated a report, that Jupiter himself had called him his son.

He went to hear Psammo, an Egyptian philosopher, and the saying of his that pleased him most was, "That all men are governed by God, for in every thing that which rules and governs is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to sound philosophy: he said, "God is the common father of men, but more particularly of the good and the virtuous."

When among the barbarians, indeed, he affected a lofty port, such as might suit a man perfectly convinced of his

divine original ; but it was in a small degree, and with great caution, that he assumed anything of divinity among the Greeks. We must except, however, what he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos : “ It was not I who gave you that free and famous city, but your then lord, who was called my father,” meaning Philip.

Yet long after this, when he was wounded with an arrow, and experienced great torture from it, he said, “ My friends, this is blood, and not the ichor

‘ Which blest immortals shed.’ ”

After this he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince proposed, on condition of a pacification and future friendship, to pay him ten thousand talents in ransom of the prisoners, to cede to him all the countries on this side the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Upon his communicating these proposals to his friends, Parmenio said, “ If I were Alexander, I would accept them.” “ So would I,” said Alexander, “ if I were Parmenio.” The answer he gave Darius was, “ That if he would come to him, he should find the best of treatment ; if not, he must go and seek him.”

In consequence of this declaration he began his march ; but he repented that he had set out so soon, when he received information that the wife of Darius was dead. That princess died in childbed ; and the concern of Alexander was great, because he lost an opportunity of exercising his clemency. All he could do was to return, and bury her with the utmost magnificence. One of the eunuchs of the bedchamber, named Tireus, who was taken prisoner along with the princesses, at this time made his escape out of the camp, and rode off to Darius, with news of the queen’s death.

Darius smote upon his head, and shed a torrent of tears. After which he cried out, "Ah, cruel destiny of the Persians! Was the wife and sister of the king not only to be taken captive, but after her death to be deprived of the obsequies due to her high rank!" The eunuch answered, "As to her obsequies, O King, and all the honours the queen had a right to claim, there is no reason to blame the evil genius of the Persians. For neither my mistress, Statira, during her life, or your royal mother, or children, missed any of the advantages of their former fortune, except the beholding the light of your countenance, which the great Oromasdes will again cause to shine with as much lustre as before. So far from being deprived of any of the solemnities of a funeral, the queen was honoured with the tears of her very enemies. For Alexander is as mild in the use of his victories, as he is terrible in battle."

On hearing this, Darius was greatly moved, and strange suspicions took possession of his soul. He took the eunuch into the most private apartment of his pavilion, and said, "If thou dost not revolt to the Macedonians, as the fortune of Persia has done, but still acknowledgest in me thy lord; tell me, as thou honourest the light of Mithra and the right hand of the king, is not the death of Statira the least of her misfortunes I have to lament? Did not she suffer more dreadful things while she lived? And, amidst all our calamities, would not our disgrace have been less, had we met with a more rigorous and savage enemy? For what engagement in the compass of virtue could bring a young man to do such honour to the wife of his enemy?"

While the king was yet speaking, Tireus humbled his face to the earth, and entreated him not to make use of expressions so unworthy of himself, so injurious to Alexander, and

so dishonourable to the memory of his deceased wife and sister ; nor to deprive himself of the greatest of consolations in his misfortune, the reflection that he was not defeated but by a person superior to human nature. He assured him, that Alexander was more to be admired for the decency of his behaviour to the Persian women, than for the valour he exerted against the men. At the same time, he confirmed all that he had said with the most awful oaths, and expatiated still more on the regularity of Alexander's conduct, and on his dignity of mind.

Then Darius returned to his friends ; and lifting up his hands to heaven, he said, " Ye gods, who are the guardians of our birth, and the protectors of kingdoms, grant that I may re-establish the fortunes of Persia, and leave them in the glory I found them ; that victory may put it in my power to return Alexander the favours which my dearest pledges experienced from him in my fall ! But if the time determined by fate and the divine wrath, or brought by the vicissitude of things, is now come, and the glory of the Persians must fall, may none but Alexander sit on the throne of Cyrus !" In this manner were things conducted, and such were the speeches uttered on this occasion, according to the tenor of history.

Alexander having subdued all on this side the Euphrates, began his march against Darius, who had taken the field with a million of men. During this march, one of his friends mentioned to him, as a matter that might divert him, that the servants of the army had divided themselves into two bands, and that each had chosen a chief, one of which they called Alexander, and the other Darius. They began to skirmish with clods, and afterwards fought with their fists ; and, at last, heated with a desire of victory, many of them

came to stones and sticks, insomuch that they could hardly be parted. The king, upon this report, ordered the two chiefs to fight in single combat, and armed Alexander with his own hands, while Philotas did the same for Darius. The whole army stood and looked on, considering the event of this combat as a presage of the issue of the war. The two champions fought with great fury ; but he who bore the name of Alexander proved victorious. He was rewarded with a present of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Persian robe, as Eratosthenes tells the story.

The great battle with Darius was not fought at Arbela, as most historians will have it ; but at Gaugamela, which, in the Persian tongue, is said to signify “the house of the camel,” so called, because one of the ancient kings having escaped his enemies by the swiftness of his camel, placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of September there happened an eclipse of the moon, about the beginning of the festival of the great mysteries at Athens. The eleventh night after that eclipse, the two armies being in view of each other, Darius kept his men under arms, and took a general review of his troops by torchlight. Meantime Alexander suffered his Macedonians to repose themselves, and with his soothsayer, Aristander, performed some private ceremonies before his tent, and offered sacrifices to FEAR. The oldest of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the plain between Niphates and the Gordæan Mountains all illumined with the torches of the barbarians, and heard the tumultuary and appalling noise from their camp, like the bellowings of an immense sea, were astonished at their numbers, and observed among themselves how arduous an enterprise it

would be to meet such a torrent of war in open day. They waited upon the king, therefore, when he had finished the sacrifice, and advised him to attack the enemy in the night, when darkness would hide what was most dreadful in the combat. Upon which he gave them that celebrated answer, "I will not steal a victory."

When his friends were gone, Alexander retired to rest in his tent, and he is said to have slept that night much sounder than usual ; insomuch that when his officers came to attend him the next day, they could not but express their surprise at it, while they were obliged themselves to give out orders to the troops to take their morning refreshment. After this, as the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered his apartment, and, standing by the bed, called him two or three times by name. When he awaked, that officer asked him "Why he slept like a man that had already conquered, and not rather like one who had the greatest battle the world ever heard of to fight?" Alexander smiled at the question, and said, "In what light can you look upon us but as conquerors, when we have not now to traverse desolate countries in pursuit of Darius, and he no longer declines the combat?" It was not, however, only before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander shewed his intrepidity and excellent judgment. For the battle was some time doubtful. The left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was almost broken by the impetuosity with which the Bactrian cavalry charged ; and Mazæus had, moreóver, detached a party of horse, with orders to wheel round and attack the corps that was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, greatly disturbed at these circumstances, sent messengers to acquaint Alexander that his camp and baggage would be taken if he did not immediately despatch a strong reinforcement from the front

to the rear : the moment that account was brought him, he was giving his right wing, which he commanded in person, the signal to charge. He stopped, however, to tell the messenger, "Parmenio must have lost his senses, and in his disorder must have forgot that the conquerors are always masters of all that belonged to the enemy ; and the conquered need not give themselves any concern about their treasures or prisoners, nor have anything to think of but how to sell their lives dear, and die in the bed of honour."

As soon as he had returned Parmenio this answer he put on his helmet ; for in other points he came ready armed out of his tent. He had a short coat of the Sicilian fashion, girt close about him, and over that a breastplate of linen strongly quilted, which was found among the spoils at the battle of Issus. His helmet, the workmanship of Theophilus, was of iron, but so well polished, that it shone like the brightest silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon he generally used in battle, was a present from the king of the Citieans, and could not be excelled for lightness or for temper. But the belt, which he wore in all engagements, was more superb than the rest of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect, and old Helicon had exerted all his art in it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as exercising and reviewing it, he spared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horse : but he constantly charged upon him ; and he had no sooner mounted him than the signal was always given.

The speech he made to the Thessalians and the other Greeks was of some length on this occasion. When he found that they, in their turn, strove to add to his con-

fidence, and called out to him to lead them against the barbarians, he shifted his javelin to his left hand ; and stretching his righth and towards heaven, according to Calisthenes, he entreated the gods "to defend and invigorate the Greeks, if he was really the son of Jupiter."

Aristander the soothsayer, who rode by his side in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, then pointed out an eagle flying over him, and directing his course against the enemy. The sight of this so animated the troops, that after mutual exhortations to bravery, the cavalry charged at full speed, and the phalanx rushed on like a torrent. Before the first ranks were well engaged, the barbarians gave way, and Alexander pressed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midst of the host, where Darius acted in person. For he beheld him at a distance, over the foremost ranks, amidst his royal squadron. Besides that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was easily distinguished by his size and beauty. A numerous body of select cavalry stood in close order about the chariot, and seemed well prepared to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach appeared so terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon those who still maintained their ground, that they were seized with consternation, and the greatest part of them dispersed. A few of the best and bravest of them, indeed, met their death before the king's chariot, and falling in heaps one upon another, strove to stop the pursuit ; for in the very pangs of death they clung to the Macedonians, and caught hold of their horses' legs as they lay upon the ground.

Darius had now the most dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces, that were placed in the front to defend him, were driven back upon him ; the wheels of his chariot were,

moreover, entangled among the dead bodies, so that it was almost impossible to turn it, and the horses, plunging among heaps of the slain, bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed the hands of the charioteer. In this extremity he quitted the chariot and his arms, and fled, as they tell us, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But, in all probability, he had not escaped so, if Parmenio had not again sent some horsemen to desire Alexander to come to his assistance, because great part of the enemy's forces still stood their ground, and kept a good countenance. Upon the whole Parmenio is accused of want of spirit and activity in that battle ; whether it was that age had damped his courage ; or whether, as Callisthenes tells us, he looked upon Alexander's power and the pompous behaviour he assumed with an invidious eye, and considered it as an insupportable burden. Alexander, though vexed at being so stopped in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the message ; but under pretence of being weary of such a carnage, and of its growing dark, sounded a retreat. However, as he was riding up to that part of his army which had been represented in danger, he was informed that the enemy were totally defeated and put to flight.

The battle having such an issue, the Persian empire appeared to be entirely destroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of all Asia. The first thing he did was to make his acknowledgments to the gods by magnificent sacrifices ; and then to his friends, by rich gifts of houses, estates, and governments. As he was particularly ambitious of recommending himself to the Greeks, he signified by letter, that all tyrannies should be abolished, and that they should be governed by their own laws, under the auspices

of freedom. To the Platæans in particular he wrote, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had made a present of their territory to the Greeks, in order that they might fight the cause of liberty upon their own lands. He sent also a part of the spoils to the Crotonians in Italy, in honour of the spirit and courage of their countryman Phaylus, a champion of the wrestling-ring, who in the war with the Medes, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy sent no assistance to the Greeks their brethren, fitted out a ship at his own expense, and repaired to Salamis, to take a share in the common danger. Such a pleasure did Alexander take in every instance of virtue, and so faithful a guardian was he of the honour of all great actions !

Alexander having made himself master of Susa, found in the king's palace forty thousand talents in coined money ; and the royal furniture and other riches were of inexpressible value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermione, worth five thousand talents, which, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained its first freshness and beauty. The reason they assign for this is, that the purple wool was combed with honey, and the white with white oil. And we are assured, that specimens of the same kind and age are still to be seen in all their pristine lustre. Dinon informs that the kings of Persia used to have water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, and put among their treasures, as a proof of the extent of their dominions, and their being masters of the world.

At Persepolis he cast his eyes upon a great statue of Xerxes, which had been thrown from its pedestal by the crowd that suddenly rushed in, and lay neglected on the ground. Upon this he stopped, and addressed it as if it had been alive—"Shall we leave you," said he, "in this

condition, on account of the war you made upon Greece, or rear you again, for the sake of your magnanimity and other virtues?" After he had stood a long time considering in silence which he should do, he passed by and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refresh themselves, he stayed there four months, for it was winter.

The first time he sat down on the throne of the kings of Persia, under a golden canopy, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had the same friendship and affection for Alexander as he had entertained for his father Philip, is said to have wept like an old man, while he uttered this exclamation, "What a pleasure have those Greeks missed, who died without seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Darius!"

As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increased with his extraordinary acquisitions; and he had also a gracious manner, which is the only thing that gives bounty an irresistible charm. To give a few instances: Ariston, who commanded the Pæonians, having killed one of the enemy, and cut off his head, laid it at Alexander's feet, and said, "Among us, Sir, such a present is rewarded with a golden cup." The king answered, with a smile, "An empty one, I suppose; but I will give you one full of good wine; and here, my boy, I drink to you." One day, as a Macedonian of mean circumstances was driving a mule, laden with the king's money, the mule tired; the man then took the burden upon his own shoulders, and carried it till he tottered under it, and was ready to give out. Alexander happening to see him, and being informed what it was, said, "Hold on, friend, the rest of the way, and carry it to your own tent, for it is yours." Indeed, he was generally more offended at those who refused his presents, than at those who asked favours of him. Hence he wrote to Phocion,

“that he could no longer number him among his friends, if he rejected the marks of his regard.” He had given nothing to Serapion, one of the youths that played with him at ball, because he asked nothing. One day, when they were at their diversion, Serapion took care always to throw the ball to others of the party : upon which Alexander said, “Why do you not give it me?” “Because you did not ask for it,” said the youth. The repartee pleased the king much ; he laughed, and immediately made him very valuable presents.

When he marched against Darius again, he expected another battle. But upon intelligence that Bessus had seized the person of that prince, he dismissed the Thesalians, and sent them home, after he had given them a gratuity of two thousand talents, over and above their pay. The pursuit was long and laborious, for he rode three thousand three hundred furlongs in eleven days. As they often suffered more for want of water than by fatigue, many of the cavalry were unable to hold out. While they were upon the march, some Macedonians had filled their bottles at a river, and were bringing the water upon mules. These people, seeing Alexander greatly distressed with thirst (for it was in the heat of the day,) immediately filled a helmet with water, and presented it to him. He asked them to whom they were carrying it ? and they said, “Their sons : but if our prince does but live, we shall get other children, if we lose them.” Upon this, he took the helmet in his hands ; but looking round, and seeing all the horsemen bending their heads, and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. However, he praised the people that offered it, and said, “If I alone drink, these good men will be dispirited.” The cavalry, who were witnesses to this act of temperance and magnanimity, cried out,

"Let us march ! We are neither weary nor thirsty, nor shall we even think ourselves mortal, while under the conduct of such a king." At the same time they put spurs to their horses.

They all had the same affection to the cause, but only sixty were able to keep up with him till he reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a number of carriages full of women and children which were in motion, but without charioteers, they hastened to the leading squadrons, not doubting that they should find Darius among them. At last, after much search, they found him extended on his chariot, and pierced with many darts. Though he was near his last moments, he had strength to ask for something to quench his thirst. A Macedonian, named Polystratus, brought him some cold water, and when he had drunk, he said, "Friend, this fills up the measure of my misfortunes, to think I am not able to reward thee for this act of kindness. But Alexander will not let thee go without a recompense ; and the gods will reward Alexander for his humanity to my mother, to my wife, and children. Tell him I gave him my hand, for I give it thee in his stead." So saying, he took the hand of Polystratus, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up he shewed his concern for that event by the strongest expressions, and covered the body with his own robe.

As for the body of Darius, he ordered it should have all the honours of a royal funeral, and sent it embalmed to his mother. Oxathres, that prince's brother, he admitted into the number of his friends.

After this, he accommodated himself more than ever to the manners of the Asiatics, and at the same time persuaded

them to adopt some of the Macedonian fashions ; for by a mixture of both he thought a union might be promoted much better than by force, and his authority maintained when he was at a distance. For the same reason he elected thirty thousand boys, and gave them masters to instruct them in the Grecian literature, as well as to train them to arms in the Macedonian manner.

As for his marriage with Roxana, it was entirely the effect of love. He saw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irresistible. Nor was the match unsuitable to the situation of his affairs. The barbarians placed greater confidence in him on account of that alliance, and his chastity gained their affection ; it delighted them to think, he would not approach the only woman he ever passionately loved without the sanction of marriage.

Hephæstion and Craterus were his two favourites. The former praised the Persian fashions, and dressed as he did ; the latter adhered to the customs of his own country. He therefore employed Hephæstion in his transactions with the barbarians, and Craterus to signify his pleasure to the Greeks and Macedonians. The one had more of his love, and the other more of his esteem. He was persuaded indeed, and he often said, "Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus the king." Hence arose private animosities, which did not fail to break out upon occasion. One day, in India, they drew their swords and came to blows. The friends of each were joining in the quarrel, when Alexander interposed. He told Hephæstion publicly, "He was a fool and a madman, not to be sensible, that without his master's favour he would be nothing." He gave Craterus also a severe reprimand in private ; and after having brought them together again, and reconciled them, he swore by Jupiter Ammon,

and all the other gods, "that he loved them more than all the men in the world : but, if he perceived them at variance again, he would put them both to death, or him at least who began the quarrel." This is said to have had such an effect upon them, that they never expressed any dislike to each other, even in jest, afterwards.

Soon after this happened the affair of Clitus, which, however simply related, is much more shocking than the execution of Philotas. Yet, if we reflect on the occasion and circumstances of the thing, we shall conclude it was a misfortune, rather than a deliberate act, and that Alexander's unhappy passion and intoxication only furnished the evil genius of Clitus with the means of accomplishing his destruction. It happened in the following manner. The king had some Grecian fruit brought him from on board a vessel, and as he greatly admired its freshness and beauty, he desired Clitus to see it, and partake of it. It happened that Clitus was offering sacrifice that day ; but he left it to wait upon the king. Three of the sheep on which the libation was already poured, followed him. The king, informed of that accident, consulted his soothsayers, Aristander, and Cleomantis the Spartan, upon it ; and they assured him it was a very bad omen. He therefore ordered the victims to be immediately offered for the health of Clitus ; the rather because three days before he had a strange and alarming dream, in which Clitus appeared in mourning, sitting by the dead sons of Parmenio. However, before the sacrifice was finished, Clitus went to sup with the king, who that day had been paying his homage to Castor and Pollux.

After they were warmed with drinking, somebody began to sing the verses of one Pranicus, or, as others will have it,

of Pierio, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers who had lately been beaten by the barbarians. The older part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the singer; but Alexander, and those about him, listened with pleasure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drunk too much, and was naturally rough and froward, could not bear their behaviour. He said, "It was not well done to make a jest, and that among barbarians and enemies, of Macedonians that were much better men than the laughers, though they had met with a misfortune." Alexander made answer, "That Clitus was pleading his own cause, when he gave cowardice the soft name of misfortune." Then Clitus started up, and said, "Yet it was this cowardice that saved you, son of Jupiter as you are, when you were turning your back to the sword of Spithridates. It is by the blood of the Macedonians and these wounds that you are grown so great, that you disdain to acknowledge Philip for your father, and will needs pass yourself for the son of Jupiter Ammon."

Irritated at this insolence, Alexander replied, "It is in this villanous manner thou talkest of me in all companies, and stirrest up the Macedonians to mutiny; but dost thou think to enjoy it long?" "And what do we enjoy now?" said Clitus, "what reward have we for all our toils? Do we not envy those who did not live to see Macedonians bleed under Median rods, or sue to Persians for access to their king?" While Clitus went on in this rash manner, and the king retorted upon him with equal bitterness, the old men interposed, and endeavoured to allay the flame. Meantime Alexander turned to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, and said, "Do not the Greeks appear to you among the Macedonians like demi-gods among so many

wild beasts?" Clitus, far from giving up the dispute, called upon Alexander "to speak out what he had to say, or not to invite freemen to his table, who would declare their sentiments without reserve. But, perhaps," continued he, "it were better to pass your life with barbarians and slaves, who will worship your Persian girdle and white robe without scruple."

Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw an apple at his face, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes, one of his guards, had taken it away in time, and the company gathered about him, and entreated him to be quiet. Their remonstrances, however, were vain. He broke from them, and called out, in the Macedonian language, for his guards, which was the signal for a great tumult. At the same time he ordered the trumpeter to sound, and struck him with his fist, upon his discovering an unwillingness to obey. This man was afterwards held in great esteem, because he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the least submission, his friends, with much ado, forced him out of the room. But he soon returned by another door, repeating, in a bold and disrespectful tone, those verses from the *Andromache* of Euripides:—

"Are these your customs? Is it thus that Greece
Rewards her combatants! Shall one man claim
The trophies won by thousands?"

Then Alexander snatched a spear from one of his guards, and meeting Clitus as he was putting by the curtain, ran him through the body. He fell immediately to the ground, and with a dismal groan expired.

Alexander's rage subsided in a moment; he came to himself; and seeing his friends standing in silent astonishment by him, he hastily drew the spear out of the dead body, and

was applying it to his own throat, when his guards seized his hands, and carried him by force into his chamber. He passed that night and the next day in anguish inexpressible; and when he had wasted himself with tears and lamentations, he lay in speechless grief, uttering only now and then a groan. His friends, alarmed at this melancholy silence, forced themselves into the room, and attempted to console him. But he would listen to none of them, except Aristander, who put him in mind of his dream and the ill omen of the sheep, and assured him, that the whole was by the decree of fate. As he seemed a little comforted, Callisthenes the philosopher, Aristotle's near relation, and Anaxarchus the Abderite, were called in. Callisthenes began in a soft and tender manner, endeavouring to relieve him without searching the wound. But Anaxarchus, who had a particular walk in philosophy, and looked upon his fellow-labourers in science with contempt, cried out, on entering the room, "Is this Alexander upon whom the whole world have their eyes? Can it be he who lies extended on the ground, crying like a slave, in fear of the law and the tongues of men, to whom he should himself be a law, and the measure of right and wrong? What did he conquer for, but to rule and to command, not servilely to submit to the vain opinions of men? Know you not," continued he, "that Jupiter is represented with Themis and Justice by his side, to shew, that whatever is done by supreme power is right?" By this, and other discourses of the same kind, he alleviated the king's grief indeed, but made him withal more haughty and unjust. At the same time he insinuated himself into his favour in so extraordinary a manner, that he could no longer bear the conversation of Callisthenes, who before was not very agreeable, on account of his austerity.

One day a dispute had arisen at table about the seasons and the temperature of the climate. Callisthenes held with those who asserted, that the country they were then in was much colder, and the winters more severe, than in Greece. Anaxarchus maintained the contrary with great obstinacy. Upon which Callisthenes said, "You must needs acknowledge, my friend, that this is much the colder; for there you went in winter in one cloak, and here you cannot sit at table without three housing coverlets one over another." This stroke went to the heart of Anaxarchus.

Callisthenes was disagreeable to all the other sophists and flatterers at court; the more so, because he was followed by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less acceptable to the old for his regular, grave, self-satisfied course of life. All which confirms what was said to be the cause of his going to Alexander, namely, an ambition to bring his fellow-citizens back, and to re-people the place of his nativity. His great reputation naturally exposed him to envy; and he gave some room for calumny himself, by often refusing the king's invitations, and when he did go to his entertainments, by sitting solemn and silent; which shewed that he could neither commend, nor was satisfied with what passed; insomuch that Alexander said to him one day,

"I hate the sage
Who reaps no fruits of wisdom to himself."

Once when he was at the king's table with a large company, and the cup came to him, he was desired to pronounce a eulogium upon the Macedonians extempore, which he did with so much eloquence, that the guests, beside their plaudits, rose up and covered him with their garlands. Upon this, Alexander said, in the words of Euripides,

"When great the theme, 'tis easy to excel."

"But shew us now," continued he, "the power of your rhetoric, in speaking against the Macedonians, that they may see their faults, and amend."

Then the orator took the other side, and spoke with equal fluency against the encroachments and other faults of the Macedonians, as well as against the divisions among the Greeks, which he shewed to be the only cause of the great increase of Philip's power ; concluding with these words—

"Amid sedition's waves
The worst of mortals may emerge to honour."

By this he drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the Macedonians, and Alexander said, "He gave not, in this case, a specimen of his eloquence, but of his malevolence."

Hermippus assures us, that Stroibus, a person employed by Callisthenes to read to him, gave this account of the matter to Aristotle. He adds, that Callisthenes, perceiving the king's aversion to him, repeated this verse two or three times at parting :

"Patroclus, thy superior is no more."

It was not, therefore, without reason, that Aristotle said of Callisthenes, "His eloquence, indeed, is great, but he wants common sense." He not only refused, with all the firmness of a philosopher, to pay his respects to Alexander by prostration, but stood forth singly, and uttered in public many grievances which the best and oldest of the Macedonians durst not reflect upon but in secret, though they were as much displeased at them as he. By preventing the prostration, he saved the Greeks, indeed, from a great dishonour, and Alexander from a greater ; but he ruined himself ; because his manner was such, that he seemed rather desirous to compel than to persuade.

Chares of Mitylene tells us, that Alexander, at one of his entertainments, after he had drank, reached the cup to one of his friends. That friend had no sooner received it than he rose up, and turning towards the hearth, where stood the domestic gods, to drink, he worshipped, and then kissed Alexander. This done, he took his place again at the table. All the guests did the same in their order, except Callisthenes. When it came to his turn, he drank, and then approached to give the king a kiss, who, being engaged in some discourse with Hephæstion, happened not to mind him. But Demetrius, surnamed Phidon, cried out, "Receive not his kiss; for he alone has not adored you." Upon which Alexander refused it, and Callisthenes said aloud, "Then I return one kiss the poorer."

A coldness, of course, ensued; but many other things contributed to his fall. In the first place, Hephæstion's report was believed, that Callisthenes had promised to adore the king, and broke his word. In the next place, Lysimachus and Agnon attacked him and said, "The sophist went about with as much pride as if he had demolished a tyranny, and the young men followed him, as the only freemen among so many thousands." These things, upon the discovery of Hermolaus's plot against Alexander, gave an air of probability to what was alleged against Callisthenes. His enemies said, Hermolaus inquired of him, "By what means he might become the most famous man in the world?" and that he answered, "By killing the most famous." They further asserted, that by way of encouraging him to the attempt, he bade him "not be afraid of the golden bed, but remember he had to do with a man who had suffered both by sickness and by wounds."

Neither Hermolaus, however, nor any of his accomplices,

made any mention of Callisthenes amidst the extremities of torture. Nay, Alexander himself, in the account he immediately gave of the plot to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, writes, "That the young men, when put to the torture, declared it was entirely their own enterprise, and that no man besides was privy to it." Yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he affirms, that Callisthenes was as guilty as the rest. "The Macedonians," says he, "have stoned the young men to death. As for the sophist, I will punish him myself, and those that sent him too : nor shall the towns that harboured the conspirators escape." In which he plainly discovers his aversion to Aristotle, by whom Callisthenes was brought up as a relation ; for he was the son of Hero, Aristotle's niece. His death is variously related. Some say, Alexander ordered him to be hanged ; others, that he fell sick and died in chains : and Chares writes, that he was kept seven months in prison, in order to be tried in full council in the presence of Aristotle ; but that he died of excessive corpulency and the lousy disease, at the time that Alexander was wounded by the Malli Oxydracæ in India. This happened, however, at a later period than we are upon.

When Alexander was upon the point of setting out for India, he saw his troops were so laden with spoils that they were unfit to march. Therefore, early in the morning that he was to take his departure, after the carriages were assembled, he first set fire to his own baggage and that of his friends ; and then gave orders that the rest should be served in the same manner. The resolution appeared more difficult to take than it was to execute. Few were displeased at it, and numbers received it with acclamations of joy. They freely gave part of their equipage to such as were in

need, and burned and destroyed whatever was superfluous. This greatly encouraged and fortified Alexander in his design. Besides, by this time he was become inflexibly severe in punishing offences. Menander, though one of his friends, he put to death for refusing to stay in a fortress he had given him the charge of ; and one of the barbarians, named Osodates, he shot dead with an arrow, for the crime of rebellion.

As to his war with Porus, we have an account of it in his own letters. According to them, the river Hydaspes was between the two armies, and Porus drew up his elephants on the banks opposite the enemy with their heads towards the stream, to guard it. Alexander caused a great noise and bustle to be made every day in his camp, that the barbarians, being accustomed to it, might not be so ready to take the alarm. This done, he took the advantage of a dark and stormy night, with part of his infantry, and a select body of cavalry, to gain a little island in the river, at some distance from the Indians. When he was there, he and his troops were attacked with a most violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning. But, notwithstanding this hurricane, in which he saw several of his men perish by the lightning, he advanced from the island to the opposite bank. The Hydaspes, swelled with the rain, by its violence and rapidity made a breach on that side, which received water enough to form a bay, so that when he came to land, he found the bank extremely slippery, and the ground broken and undermined by the current. On this occasion he is said to have uttered that celebrated saying, "Will you believe, my Athenian friends, what dangers I undergo, to have you the heralds of my fame?" The last particular we have from Onesicritus ; but Alexander himself

only says, they quitted their boats, and, armed as they were, waded up the beach breast high; and that when they were landed, he advanced with the horse twenty furlongs before the foot, concluding that if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry, he should be greatly their superior, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his would come up in time enough to receive them. Nor did he judge amiss. The enemy detached against him a thousand horse and sixty armed chariots, and he defeated them with ease. The chariots he took, and killed four hundred of the cavalry upon the spot. By this, Porus understood that Alexander himself had passed the river, and therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared necessary to keep the rest of the Macedonians from making good their passage. Alexander, considering the force of the elephants, and the enemy's superior numbers, did not choose to engage them in front, but attacked the left wing himself, while Coenus, according to his orders, fell upon the right. Both wings being broken, retired to the elephants in the centre, and rallied there. The combat then was of a more mixed kind; but maintained with such obstinacy that it was not decided till the eighth hour of the day. This description of the battle we have from the conqueror himself, in one of his epistles.

Most historians agree, that Porus was four cubits and a palm high, and that though the elephant he rode was one of the largest, his stature and bulk were such, that he appeared but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave extraordinary proofs of his sagacity and care of the king's person. As long as that prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink

under the multitude of darts and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off, he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body.

When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him, "How he desired to be treated?" He answered, "Like a king." "And have you nothing else to request?" replied Alexander, "No," said he; "everything is comprehended in the word 'king.'" Alexander not only restored him his own dominions immediately, which he was to govern as his lieutenant, but added very extensive territories to them; for having subdued a free country, which contained fifteen nations, five thousand considerable cities, and villages in proportion, he bestowed it on Porus. Another country, three times as large, he gave to Philip, one of his friends, who was also to act there as his lieutenant.

In the battle with Porus, Bucephalus received several wounds, of which he died some time after. This is the account most writers give us: but Onesicritus says, he died of age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Alexander shewed as much regret as if he had lost a faithful friend and companion. He esteemed him, indeed, as such; and built a city near the Hydaspes, in the place where he was buried, which he called, after him, Bucephalia. He is also reported to have built a city, and called it Peritas, in memory of a dog of that name, which he had brought up and was very fond of. This particular, Sotio says, he had from Potamo of Lesbos.

The combat with Porus abated the spirit of the Macedonians, and made them resolve to proceed no farther in India. It was with difficulty they had defeated an enemy who brought only twenty thousand foot and two thousand

horse into the field ; and therefore they opposed Alexander with great firmness when he insisted that they should pass the Ganges, which, they were informed, was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth a hundred fathoms. The opposite shore too was covered with numbers of squadrons, battalions, and elephants. For the kings of the Gandarites and Præsians were said to be waiting for them there, with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand elephants trained to war. Nor is this number at all magnified : for Androcottus, who reigned not long after, made Seleucus a present of five hundred elephants at one time, and with an army of six hundred thousand men traversed India, and conquered the whole.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refusal were such, that at first he shut himself up in his tent, and lay prostrate on the ground, declaring, "He did not thank the Macedonians in the least for what they had done, if they would not pass the Ganges : for he considered a retreat no other than an acknowledgment that he was overcome." His friends omitted nothing that might comfort him ; and at last their remonstrances together with the cries and tears of the soldiers, who were suppliants at his door, melted him, and prevailed on him to return. However, he first contrived many vain and sophistical things to serve the purposes of fame ; among which were arms much bigger than his men could use, and higher mangers and heavier bits than his horses required, left scattered up and down. He built also great altars, for which the Præsians still retain much veneration, and their kings cross the Ganges every year to offer sacrifices in the Grecian manner upon them. Androcottus, who was then very young, had a sight of Alex-

ander, and he is reported to have often said afterwards, "That Alexander was within a little of making himself master of all the country ; with such hatred and contempt was the reigning prince looked upon, on account of his profligacy of manners, and meanness of birth."

Alexander, in his march from thence, formed a design to see the ocean ; for which purpose he caused a number of row-boats and rafts to be constructed, and, upon them, fell down the rivers at his leisure. Nor was this navigation unattended with hostilities. He made several descents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all forced to submit to his victorious arms. However, he was very near being cut in pieces by the Malli, who are called the most warlike people in India. He had driven some of them from the wall with his missive weapons, and was the first man that ascended it. But presently after he was up, the scaling ladder broke. Finding himself and the small company much galled by the darts of the barbarians from below, he poised himself, and leaped down into the midst of the enemy. By good fortune he fell upon his feet ; and the barbarians were so astonished at the flashing of his arms as he came down, that they thought they beheld lightning, or some supernatural splendour issuing from his body. At first, therefore, they drew back and dispersed. But when they had recollected themselves, and saw him attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears, notwithstanding the valour with which he fought. One of them standing farther off, drew an arrow with such strength, that it made its way through his cuirass, and entered the ribs under the breast. Its force was so great, that he gave back and was brought upon his knees,

and the barbarian ran up with his drawn scimitar to despatch him. Peucestas and Limnæus placed themselves before him, but one was wounded and the other killed. Peucestas, who survived, was still making some resistance, when Alexander recovered himself and laid the barbarian at his feet. The king, however, received new wounds, and at last had such a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to support himself by the wall, and there stood with his face to the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had got in, gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent. .

His senses were gone, and it was the current report in the army that he was dead. When they had, with great difficulty, sawed off the shaft, which was of wood, and with equal trouble had taken off the cuirass, they proceeded to extract the head, which was three fingers broad, and four long, and stuck fast in the bone. He fainted under the operation, and was very near expiring; but when the head was got out, he came to himself. Yet, after the danger was over, he continued weak, and a long time confined himself to a regular diet, attending solely to the cure of his wound. The Macedonians could not bear to be so long deprived of the sight of their king; they assembled in a tumultuous manner about his tent. When he perceived this, he put on his robe, and made his appearance; but as soon as he had sacrificed to the gods, he retired again. As he was on his way to the place of his destination, though carried in a litter by the water side, he subdued a large track of land, and many respectable cities.

Alexander spent seven months in falling down the rivers to the ocean. When he arrived there, he embarked, and sailed to an island which he called Scilloustis, but others

call it Psiltoucis. There he landed, and sacrificed to the gods. He likewise considered the nature of the sea and of the coast, as far as it was accessible. And after having besought Heaven, "that no man might ever reach beyond the bounds of his expedition," he prepared to set out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral, and Onesicritus chief pilot, and ordered his fleet to sail round, keeping India on the right. With the rest of his forces he returned by land, through the country of the Orites; in which he was reduced to such extremities, and lost such numbers of men, that he did not bring back from India above a fourth part of the army he entered it with, which was no less than a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. Violent distempers, ill diet, and excessive heats, destroyed multitudes; but famine made still greater ravages. For it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to subsist on but a few bad sheep, which used to feed on the fish thrown up by the sea; consequently they were poor, and their flesh of a bad flavour.

With much difficulty he traversed this country in sixty days, and then arrived in Gedrosia. There he found provisions in abundance; for besides that the land is fertile in itself, the neighbouring princes and grandees supplied him. After he had given his army some time to refresh themselves, he marched in Carmania for seven days in a kind of Bacchanalian procession. His chariot, which was very magnificent, was drawn by eight horses. Upon it was placed a lofty platform, where he and his principal friends revelled day and night. This carriage was followed by many others, some covered with rich tapestry and purple hangings, and others shaded with branches of trees fresh

gathered and flourishing. In these were the rest of the king's friends and generals, crowned with flowers, and exhilarated with wine.

In this whole company there was not to be seen a buckler, a helmet, or spear; but, instead of them, cups, flagons, and goblets. These the soldiers dipped in huge vessels of wine, and drank to each other, some as they marched along, and others seated at tables, which were placed at proper distances on the way. The whole country resounded with flutes, clarionets, and songs, and with the dances and riotous frolics of the women. This disorderly and dissolute march was closed with a very immodest figure, and with all the licentious ribaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himself had been present to carry on the debauch.

When Alexander arrived at the royal palace of Gedrosia, he gave his army time to refresh themselves again, and entertained them with feasts and public spectacles. At one of these in which the choruses disputed the prize of dancing, he appeared inflamed with wine. His favourite Bagoas happening to win it, crossed the theatre in his habit of ceremony, and seated himself by the king. The Macedonians expressed their satisfaction with loud plaudits, and called out to the king to kiss him, with which at last he complied.

Nearchus joined him again here, and he was so much delighted with the account of his voyage, that he formed a design to sail in person from the Euphrates with a great fleet, circle the coast of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules. For this purpose, he constructed, at Thapsacus, a number of vessels of all sorts, and collected mariners and pilots. But the

report of the difficulties he had met with in his Indian expedition, particularly in his attack of the Malli, his great loss of men in the country of the Orites, and the supposition he would never return alive from the voyage he now meditated, excited his new subjects to revolt, and put his generals and governors of provinces upon displaying their injustice, insolence, and avarice. In short, the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguings against Antipater, had seized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between them. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra, Macedonia;—the tidings of which being brought to Alexander, he said, “His mother had considered right; for the Macedonians would never bear to be governed by a woman.”

In consequence of this unsettled state of things, he sent Nearchus again to sea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. Meantime he marched in person to chastise his lieutenants for their misdemeanours. Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abulites, he killed with his own hand, by a stroke of his javelin. Abulites had laid in no provisions for him; he had only collected three thousand talents in money. Upon his presenting this, Alexander bade him offer it to his horses; and, as they did not touch it, he said, “Of what use will this provision now be to me?” and immediately ordered Abulites to be taken into custody.

The first thing he did after he entered Persia, was to give this money to the matrons, according to the ancient custom of the kings, who, upon their return from any excursion to their Persian dominions, used to give every woman a piece of gold. For this reason, several of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but seldom; and Ochus never did: he

banished himself to save his money. Having found the tomb of Cyrus broken open, he put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a person of some distinction. His name was Polymachus. After he had read the epitaph, which was in the Persian language, he ordered it to be inscribed also in Greek. It was as follows : —“O man! whosoever thou art, and whensoever thou comest, (for come I know thou wilt,) I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Empire, envy me not the little earth that covers my body.” Alexander was much affected at these words, which placed before him in so strong a light the uncertainty and vicissitude of things.

When he arrived at Susa, he married his friends to Persian ladies. He set them the example, by taking Statira, the daughter of Darius, to wife, and then distributed among his principal officers the virgins of highest quality. As for those Macedonians who had already married in Persia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials. It is said, that no less than nine thousand guests sat down, and yet he presented each with a golden cup for performing the libation. Everything else was conducted with the utmost magnificence; he even paid off all their debts; insomuch that the whole expense amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents.

The thirty thousand boys, whom he left under proper masters, were now grown so much, and made so handsome an appearance; and, what was of more importance, had gained such an activity and address in their exercises, that he was greatly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneasiness to the Macedonians; they were apprehensive that the king would have less regard for them. Therefore, when he gave the invalids their route to the sea, in order to

their return, the whole army considered it as an injurious and oppressive measure. "He has availed himself," said they, "beyond all reason, of their services, and now he sends them back with disgrace, and turns them upon the hands of their country and their parents, in a very different condition from that in which he received them. Why does he not dismiss us all? Why does he not reckon all the Macedonians incapable of service, now he has got this body of young dancers? Let him go with them and conquer the world?"

Alexander, incensed at this mutinous behaviour, loaded them with reproaches; and ordering them off, took Persians for his guards, and filled up other offices with them. When they saw their king with these new attendants, and themselves rejected and spurned with dishonour, they were greatly humbled. They lamented their fate to each other, and were almost frantic with jealousy and anger. At last, coming to themselves, they repaired to the king's tent, without arms, in one thin garment only; and with tears and lamentations delivered themselves up to his vengeance; desiring he would treat them as ungrateful men deserved.

He was softened with their complaints, but would not appear to hearken to them. They stood two days and nights, bemoaning themselves in this manner, and calling for their dear master. The third day he came out to them; and when he saw their forlorn condition, he wept a long time. After a gentle rebuke for their misbehaviour, he condescended to converse with them in a free manner; and such as were unfit for service he sent over with magnificent presents. At the same time, he signified his pleasure to Antipater, that at all public diversions they should have the most honourable seats in the theatres, and wear chaplets of flowers

there ; and that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should have their fathers' pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had despatched the most urgent affairs, he employed himself again in the celebration of games and other public solemnities ; for which purpose three thousand artificers, lately arrived from Greece, were very serviceable to him. But, unfortunately, Hephæstion fell sick of a fever in the midst of this festivity. As a young man and a soldier, he could not bear to be kept to strict diet ; and taking the opportunity to dine when his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he ate a roasted fowl, and drank a flagon of wine made as cold as possible ; in consequence of which he grew worse, and died a few days after.

Alexander's grief on this occasion exceeded all bounds. He immediately ordered the horses and mules to be shorn, that they might have their share in the mourning, and with the same view pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. The poor physician he crucified. He forbade the flute and all other music in his camp for a long time. This continued till he received an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, which enjoined him to revere Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as a demi-god. After this he sought to relieve his sorrow by hunting, or rather by war ; for his game were men. In this expedition he conquered the Cussæans, and put all that were come to the years of puberty to the sword. This he called a sacrifice to the "manes" of Hephæstion !

He designed to lay out ten thousand talents upon his tomb and the monumental ornaments, and that the workmanship, as well as design, should exceed the expense, great

as it was. He therefore desired to have Stasicrates for his architect, whose genius promised a happy boldness and grandeur in everything that he planned. This was the man who had told him, some time before, that Mount Athos in Thrace was most capable of being cut into a human figure ; and that, if he had but his orders, he would convert it into a statue for him, the most lasting and conspicuous in the world ; a statue, which should have a city with ten thousand inhabitants in its left hand, and a river that flowed to the sea with a strong current in its right. He did not, however, embrace that proposal, though at that time he busied himself with his architects in contriving and laying out even more absurd and expensive designs.

As he was advancing towards Babylon, Nearchus, who was returned from his expedition on the ocean, and come up the Euphrates, declared he had been applied to by some Chaldæans, who were strongly of opinion that Alexander should not enter Babylon. But he slighted the warning and continued his march. Upon his approach to the walls, he saw a great number of crows fighting, some of which fell down dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed that Apollodorus, governor of Babylon, had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning him, he sent for Pythagoras, the diviner ; and, as he did not deny the fact, asked him how the entrails of the victim appeared. Pythagoras answered, the liver was without a head. "A terrible presage, indeed !" said Alexander. He let Pythagoras go with impunity ; but by this time he was sorry he had not listened to Nearchus. He lived mostly in his pavilion without the walls, and diverted himself with sailing up and down the Euphrates. For there had happened several other ill omens that much disturbed him. One of the largest and

handsomest lions that were kept in Babylon, was attacked and kicked to death by an ass. One day he stripped for the refreshment of oil, and to play at ball; after the diversion was over, the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes, beheld a man sitting in profound silence on his throne, dressed in the royal robes, with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would answer. At last, coming to himself, he said, "My name is Dionysius, and I am a native of Messene. Upon a criminal process against me, I left the place, and embarked for Babylon. There I have been kept a long time in chains. But this day the god Serapis appeared to me, and broke my chains; after which he conducted me hither, and ordered me to put on this robe and diadem, and sit here in silence."

After the man had thus explained himself, Alexander, by the advice of his soothsayers, put him to death. But the anguish of his mind increased: on one hand, he almost despaired of the succours of Heaven; and on the other, distrusted his friends. He was most afraid of Antipater and his sons: one of whom, named Iolaus, was his cup-bearer; the other, named Cassander, was lately arrived from Macedonia; and happening to see some barbarians prostrate themselves before the king, like a man accustomed only to the Grecian manners, and a stranger to such a sight, he burst out into a loud laugh. Alexander, enraged at the affront, seized him by the hair, and with both hands dashed his head against the wall. Cassander afterwards attempted to vindicate his father against his accusers, which greatly irritated the king. "What is this talk of thine?" said he. "Dost thou think that men who had suffered no injury, would come so far to bring a false charge?" "Their coming

so far," replied Cassander, "is an argument that the charge is false, because they are at a distance from those who are able to contradict them." At this Alexander smiled, and said, "These are some of Aristotle's sophisms, which make equally for either side of the question. But be assured I will make you repent it, if these men have had the least injustice done them."

This, and other menaces, left such a terror upon Cassander, and made so lasting an impression upon his mind, that many years after, when king of Macedon, and master of all Greece, as he was walking about at Delphi, and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of that of Alexander is said to have struck him with such horror that he trembled all over, and it was with difficulty he recovered of the giddiness it caused in his brain.

When Alexander had once given himself up to superstition, his mind was so preyed upon by vain fears and anxieties, that he turned the least incident, which was anything strange and out of the way, into a sign or a prodigy. The court swarmed with sacrificers, purifiers, and prognosticators; they were all to be seen exercising their talents there. So true it is, that though the disbelief of religion and contempt of things divine is a great evil, yet superstition is a greater. For as water gains upon low grounds, so superstition prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was entirely Alexander's case. However, upon the receipt of some oracles concerning Hephæstion, from the god he commonly consulted, he gave a truce to his sorrows, and employed himself in festive sacrifices and entertainments.

One day, after he had given Nearchus a sumptuous treat, he went, according to custom, to refresh himself in the bath,

in order to retire to rest. But in the meantime Medius came and invited him to take part in a carousal, and he could not deny him. There he drank all that night and the next day, till at last he found a fever coming upon him. It did not, however, seize him as he was drinking the cup of Hercules, nor did he find a sudden pain in his back, as if it had been pierced with a spear. These are circumstances invented by writers, who thought the catastrophe of so noble a tragedy should be something affecting and extraordinary. Aristobulus tells us that, in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirst, he took a draught of wine, which threw him into a frenzy, and that he died the thirtieth of the month Daesius, (June.)

But in his journals the account of his sickness is as follows:—"On the eighteenth of the month Daesius, finding the fever upon him, he lay in his bath-room. The next day, after he had bathed, he removed into his own chamber, and played many hours with Medius at dice. In the evening he bathed again, and after having sacrificed to the gods, he ate his supper. In the night the fever returned. The twentieth he also bathed, and after the customary sacrifice, sat in the bath-room, and diverted himself with hearing Nearchus tell the story of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean. The twenty-first was spent in the same manner. The fever increased, and he had a very bad night. The twenty-second, the fever was violent. He ordered his bed to be removed, and placed by the great bath. There he talked to his generals about the vacancies in his army, and desired they might be filled up with experienced officers. The twenty-fourth, he was much worse. He chose, however, to be carried to assist at the sacrifice. He likewise gave orders, that the principal officers

of the army should wait within the court, and the others keep watch all night without. The twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace, on the other side of the river, where he slept a little, but the fever did not abate; and when his generals entered the room he was speechless. He continued so the day following. The Macedonians, by this time thinking he was dead, came to the gates with great clamour, and threatened the great officers in such a manner, that they were forced to admit them, and suffer them all to pass unarmed by the bedside. The twenty-seventh, Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis, to inquire whether they should carry Alexander thither, and the deity ordered that they should not remove him. The twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died." These particulars are taken almost word for word from his diary.

There was no suspicion of poison at the time of his death; but six years after (we are told) Olympias, upon some information, put a number of people to death, and ordered the remains of Iolas, who was supposed to have given him the draught, to be dug out of the grave. Those who say Aristotle advised Antipater to such a horrid deed, and furnished him with the poison he sent to Babylon, allege one Agnothemis as their author, who is pretended to have had the information from king Antigonus. They add, that the poison was a water of a cold and deadly quality, which distils from a rock in the territory of Nonacris; and that they receive it as they would do so many dewdrops, and keep it in an ass's hoof; its extreme coldness and acrimony being such that it makes its way through all other vessels. The generality, however, look upon the story of the poison as a mere fable; and they have this strong argument in their favour, that though, on account of the disputes which the great

officers were engaged in for many days, the body lay unembalmed in a sultry place, it had no sign of any taint, but continued fresh and clear.

Roxana was now pregnant, and therefore had great attention paid her by the Macedonians. But being extremely jealous of Statira, she laid a snare for her by a forged letter, as from Alexander ; and having by this means got her under her power, she sacrificed both her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which she filled up with earth. Perdicas was her accomplice in this murder. Indeed, he had now the principal power, which he exercised in the name of Aridæus, whom he treated rather as a screen than as a king.

Aridæus was the son of Philip, by a courtesan named Philinna, a woman of low birth. His deficiency in understanding was the consequence of a distemper, in which neither nature nor accident had any share. For it is said, there was something amiable and great in him when a boy ; which Olympias perceiving, gave him potions that disturbed his brain.

CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

DIED B.C. 488.



THE family of the Marcii afforded Rome many illustrious patricians. Of this house was Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter ; as were also Publius and Quintus Marcius, who supplied Rome with plenty of the best water. Censorinus, too, who was twice appointed Censor by the people of Rome, and who procured a law that no man should ever bear that office twice afterwards, had the same pedigree.

Marcus, for his part, had a more than ordinary inclination for war, and therefore from a child began to handle his weapons. As he thought that artificial arms avail but little, unless those with which nature has supplied us be well improved and kept ready for use, he so prepared himself by exercise for every kind of combat, that while his limbs were active and nimble enough for pursuing, such was his force and weight of wrestling and in grappling with the enemy, that none could easily get clear of him. Those, therefore, that had any contest with him for the prize of courage and valour, though they failed of success, flattered themselves with imputing it to his invincible strength, which nothing could resist or fatigue.

He made his first campaign when he was very young, when Tarquin, who had reigned in Rome, was driven from the throne, and after many battles, fought with bad success, was now venturing all upon the last throw. Most of the people at Latium, and many other states of Italy, were now assisting and marching towards Rome, to re-establish him, not through any regard they had for Tarquin, but for fear and envy of the Romans, whose growing greatness they were desirous to check. A battle ensued, with various turns of fortune. Marcius distinguished himself that day in sight of the dictator; for seeing a Roman pushed down at a small distance from him, he hastened to his help, and standing before him, he engaged his adversary and slew him. When the dispute was decided in favour of the Romans, the general presented Marcius, among the first, with an oaken crown.

At the time when the reputation and interest which his virtue had procured him in Rome were very great, the senate, taking the part of the richer sort of citizens, were at variance with the common people, who were used by their creditors with intolerable cruelty. Those that had something considerable were stripped of their goods, which were either detained for security, or sold; and those that had nothing were dragged into prison, and there bound with fetters, though their bodies were full of wounds, and worn out with fighting for their country.

On a sudden the commonalty rose one and all, and encouraging each other, they left the city, and withdrew to the hill now called Sacred, near the river Anio, but without committing any violence or other act of sedition. Only as they went along, they loudly complained, "that it was now a great while since the rich had driven them from their

habitations; that Italy would anywhere supply them with air and water, and a place of burial; and that Rome, if they stayed in it, would afford them no other privilege, unless it were such to bleed and die in fighting for their wealthy oppressors."

The senate was then alarmed, and from the oldest men of their body selected the most moderate and popular to treat with the people. At the head of them was Menenius Agrippa, who after much entreaty addressed to them, and many arguments in defence of the senate, concluded his discourse with this celebrated fable:—"The members of the human body once mutinied against the belly, and accused it of lying idle and useless, while they were all labouring and toiling to satisfy its appetites; but the belly only laughed at their simplicity, who knew not that though it received all the nourishment into itself, it prepared and distributed it again to all parts of the body. Just so, my fellow-citizens," said he, "stands the case between the senate and you. For their necessary counsels, and acts of government, are productive of advantage to you all and distribute their salutary influence amongst the whole people."

After this they were reconciled to the senate, having demanded and obtained the privilege of appointing five men, to defend their rights on all occasions. These are called tribunes of the people. The first that were elected were Junius Brutus and Sicinius Vellutus, the leaders of the secession.

Corioli was the capital of the country of the Volscians, with whom the Romans were at war. And as it was besieged by the consul Cominius, the rest of the Volscians were much alarmed, and assembled to succour it, intending to give the Romans battle under the walls, and to attack

them on both sides. But after Cominius had divided his forces, and with part went to meet the Volscians without, who were marching against him, leaving Titus Lartius, an illustrious Roman, with the other part, to carry on the siege, the inhabitants of Corioli despised the body that were left, and sallied out to fight them. The Romans at first were obliged to give ground, and were driven to their entrenchments. But Marcius with a small party flew to their assistance, killed the foremost of the enemy, and stopping the rest in their career, with a loud voice called the Romans back. For he was (what Cato wanted a soldier to be) not only dreadful for the thunder of his arm, but of voice too, and had an aspect which struck his adversaries with terror and dismay. Many Romans then crowding about him, and being ready to second him, the enemy retired in confusion. Nor was he satisfied with making them retire ; he pressed hard upon their rear, and pursued them quite up to the gates. There he perceived that his men discontinued the pursuit, by reason of the shower of arrows which fell from the walls, and that none of them had any thoughts of rushing along with the fugitives into the city, which was filled with warlike people, who were all under arms ; nevertheless, he exhorted and encouraged them to press forward, crying out, " That fortune had opened the gates rather to the victors than to the vanquished." But as few were willing to follow him, he broke through the enemy, and pushed into the town with the crowd, no one at first daring to oppose him, or even to look him in the face. But when he cast his eyes around, and saw so small a number within the walls, whose service he could make use of in that dangerous enterprise, and that friends and foes were mixed together, he summoned all his force, and performed the most incredible exploits, whether

you consider his heroic strength, his amazing agility, or his bold and daring spirit ; for he overpowered all that were in his way, forcing some to seek refuge in the furthest corners of the town, and others to give out and throw down their arms ; which afforded Lartius an opportunity to bring in the rest of the Romans unmolested.

The city thus taken, most of the soldiers fell to plundering, which Marcius highly resented ; crying out, “ that it was a shame for them to run about after plunder, or, under pretence of collecting the spoils, to get out of the way of danger, while the consul and the Romans under his command were, perhaps, engaged with the enemy.” As there were not many that listened to what he said, he put himself at the head of such as offered to follow him, and took the route which he knew would lead him to the consul’s army ; sometimes pressing his small party to hasten their march, and conjuring them not to suffer their ardour to cool, and sometimes begging of the gods that the battle might not be over before he arrived, but that he might have his share in the glorious toils and dangers of his countrymen.

It was customary with the Romans of that age, when they were drawn up in order of battle, and ready to take up their shields and gird their garments about them, to make a nuncupative will, naming each his heir, in the presence of three or four witnesses. While the soldiers were thus employed, and the enemy in sight, Marcius came up. Some were startled at his first appearance, covered as he was with blood and sweat. But when he ran cheerfully up to the consul, took him by the hand, and told him that Corioli was taken, the consul clasped him to his heart ; and those who heard the news of that success, and those who did but guess at it, were greatly animated, and with shouts demanded to be led

on to the combat. Marcius inquired of Cominius in what manner the enemy's army was drawn up, and where their best troops were posted. Being answered, that the Antiates, who were placed in the centre, were supposed to be the bravest and most warlike, "I beg it of you then," said Marcius, "as a favour, that you will place me directly opposite to them." And the consul, admiring his spirit, readily granted his request.

When the battle was begun with the throwing of spears, Marcius advanced before the rest, and charged the centre of the Volscians with so much fury, that it was soon broken. Nevertheless, the wings attempted to surround him; and the consul, alarmed for him, sent to his assistance a select band which he had near his own person. A sharp conflict then ensued about Marcius, and a great carnage was quickly made; but the Romans pressed the enemy with so much vigour that they put them to flight. And when they were going upon the pursuit, they begged of Marcius, now almost weighed down with wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. But he answered, "that it was not for conquerors to be tired," and so joined them in prosecuting the victory. The whole army of the Volscians was defeated, great numbers killed, and many made prisoners.

Next day, Marcius waiting upon the consul, and the army being assembled, Cominius mounted the rostrum; and having in the first place returned due thanks to the gods for such extraordinary success, addressed himself to Marcius. He began with a detail of his gallant actions, of which he had himself been partly an eye-witness, and which had partly been related to him by Lartius. Then out of the great quantity of treasure, the many horses and prisoners they had taken, he ordered him to take a tenth, before any

distribution was made to the rest, besides making him a present of a fine horse with noble trappings, as a reward for his valour.

The army received this speech with great applause ; and Marcius, stepping forward, said, " That he accepted of the horse, and was happy in the consul's approbation ; but as for the rest, he considered it rather as a pecuniary reward than as a mark of honour, and therefore desired to be excused, being satisfied with his single share of the booty. One favour only in particular," continued he, " I desire, and beg I may be indulged in. I have a friend among the Volscians, bound with me in the sacred rites of hospitality, and a man of virtue and honour. He is now among the prisoners, and from easy and opulent circumstances reduced to servitude. Of the many misfortunes under which he labours, I should be glad to rescue him from one, which is that of being sold as a slave."

These words of Marcius were followed with still louder acclamations ; his conquering the temptations of money being more admired than the valour he had exerted in battle. For even those who before regarded his superior honours with envy and jealousy, now thought him worthy of great things because he had greatly declined them, and were more struck with that virtue which led him to despise such extraordinary advantages, than with the merit which claimed them. Indeed, the right use of riches is more commendable than that of arms ; and not to desire them at all, more glorious than to use them well.

When the acclamations were over, and the multitude silent again, Cominius subjoined, " You cannot indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon a person so firmly resolved to refuse them ; let us then give him what

it is not in his power to decline, let us pass a vote that he be called Coriolanus, if his gallant behaviour at Corioli has not already bestowed that name upon him." Hence came his third name of Coriolanus.

Soon after, Marcius stood for the consulship. It was the custom for those who were candidates for such a high office to solicit and caress the people in the forum, and, at those times, to be clad in a loose gown without the "tunic;" whether that humble dress was thought more suitable for suppliants, or whether it was for the convenience of shewing their wounds, as so many tokens of valour.

When, therefore, Marcius shewed the wounds and scars he had received in the many glorious battles he had fought for seventeen years successively, the people were struck with reverence for his virtue, and agreed to choose him consul. But when the day of election came, and he was conducted with great pomp into the "Campus Martius" by the senate in a body, all the patricians acting with more zeal and vigour than ever had been known on the like occasion; the commons then altered their minds, and their kindness was turned into envy and indignation. The malignity of these passions was further assisted by the fear they entertained, that if a man so strongly attached to the interests of the senate, and so much respected by the nobility, should attain the consulship, he might utterly deprive the people of their liberty. Influenced by these considerations, they rejected Marcius, and appointed others to that office. The senate took this extremely ill, considering it as an affront rather intended against them than against Marcius. As for Marcius, he resented that treatment highly, indulging his irascible passions upon a supposition, that they have something great and exalted in them; and wanting a due mixture of

gravity and mildness, which are the chief political virtues, and the fruits of reason and education.

In the meantime, a great quantity of bread-corn was brought to Rome, being partly bought up in Italy, and partly a present from Gelon, king of Syracuse. The aspect of affairs appeared now to be encouraging; and it was hoped that the intestine broils would cease with the scarcity. The senate, therefore, being immediately assembled, the people stood in crowds without, waiting for the issue of their deliberations. They expected that the market-rates for the corn that was bought would be moderate, and that a distribution of that which was a gift would be made "gratis;" for there was some who proposed that the senate should dispose of it in that manner. But Marcius stood up, and severely censured those that spoke in favour of the commonalty, calling them demagogues and traitors to the nobility. He said, "They nourished, to their own great prejudice, the pernicious seeds of boldness and petulance, which had been sown among the populace, when they should rather have nipped them in the bud, and not have suffered the plebeians to strengthen themselves with the tribunitial power. That the people were now become formidable, gaining whatever point they pleased, and not doing any one thing against their inclination; so that living in a sort of anarchy, they would no longer obey the consuls, nor acknowledge any superiors but those whom they called their own magistrates. That the senators who advised that distributions should be made in the manner of the Greeks, whose government was entirely democratical, were effecting the ruin of the constitution, by encouraging the insolence of the rabble. For that they would not suppose they received such favours for the campaign which they had refused to

make, or for the secessions by which they had deserted their country, or for the calumnies which they had countenanced against the senate : but," continued he, " they will think that we yield to them through fear, and grant them such indulgences by way of flattery ; and as they will expect to find us always so complaisant, there will be no end to their disobedience, no period to their turbulent and seditious practices. It would, therefore, be perfect madness to take such a step. Nay, if we are wise, we shall entirely abolish the tribunes' office, which has made ciphers of the consuls, and divided the city in such a manner, that it is no longer one as formerly, but broken into two parts, which will never knit again, or cease to vex and harass each other with all the evils of discord."

Marcus, haranguing to this purpose, inspired the young senators and almost all the men of fortune with his own enthusiasm ; and they cried out that he was the only man in Rome who had a spirit above the meanness of flattery and submission : yet some of the aged senators foresaw the consequence, and opposed his measures. In fact, the issue was unfortunate. For the tribunes who were present, when they saw that Marcus would have a majority of voices, ran out to the people, loudly calling upon them to stand by their own magistrates and give their best assistance. An assembly then was held in a tumultuary manner, in which the speeches of Marcus were recited, and the plebeians in their fury had thoughts of breaking in upon the senate. The tribunes pointed their rage against Marcus in particular, by impeaching him in form, and sent for him to make his defence. But as he spurned the messengers, they went themselves, attended by the ædiles, to bring him by force, and began to lay hands on him. Upon this the patricians

stood up for him, drove off the tribunes, and beat the ædiles ; till night coming on broke off the quarrel. Early next morning, the consuls observing that the people, now extremely incensed, flocked from all quarters into the forum : and dreading what might be the consequence to the city, hastily convened the senate, and moved, "That they should consider how, with kind words and favourable resolutions, they might bring the commons to temper ; for that this was not a time to display their ambition, nor would it be prudent to pursue disputes about a point of honour at a critical and dangerous juncture, which required the greatest moderation and delicacy of conduct." As the majority agreed to the motion, they went out to confer with the people, and used their best endeavours to pacify them, coolly refuting calumnies, and modestly, though not without some degree of sharpness, complaining of their behaviour. As to the price of bread-corn and other provisions, they declared there should be no difference between them.

Great part of the people were moved with this application, and it clearly appeared, by their candid attention, that they were ready to close with it. Then the tribunes stood up and said, "That since the senate acted with such moderation, the people were not unwilling to make concessions in their turn ; but they insisted that Marcius should come and answer to these articles : 'Whether he had not stirred up the senate to the confounding of all government, and to the destroying of the people's privileges ? Whether he had not refused to obey their summons ? Whether he had not beaten and otherwise maltreated the ædiles in the forum : and by these means (so far as in him lay) levied war, and brought the citizens to sheath their swords in each other's bosom ?'" These things they said

with a design, either to humble Marcius, by making him submit to entreat the people's clemency, which was much against his haughty temper ; or, if he followed his native bent, to draw him to make the breach incurable. The latter they were in hopes of, and the rather because they knew the man well. He stood as if he would have made his defence, and the people waited in silence for what he had to say. But when, instead of the submissive language that was expected, he began with an aggravating boldness, and rather accused the commons, than defended himself ; when, with the tone of his voice and the fierceness of his looks, he expressed an intrepidity bordering upon insolence and contempt, they lost all patience ; and Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, after a short consultation with his colleagues, pronounced openly, that the tribunes condemned Marcius to die. He then ordered the ædiles to take him immediately up to the top of the Tarpeian rock, and throw him down the precipice. However, when they came to lay hands on him, the action appeared horrible even to many of the plebeians. The patricians, shocked and astonished, ran with great outcries to his assistance, and got Marcius in the midst of them, some interposing to keep off the arrest, and others stretching out their hands in supplication to the multitude : but no regard was paid to words and entreaties amidst such disorder and confusion, until the friends and relations of the tribunes perceiving it would be impossible to carry off Marcius and punish him capitally, without first spilling much patrician blood, persuaded them to alter the cruel and unprecedented part of the sentence ; not to use violence in the affair, or put him to death without form or trial, but to refer all to the people's determination in full assembly.

Sicinius, then a little mollified, asked the patricians, "What they meant by taking Marcius out of the hands of the people, who were resolved to punish him?" To which they replied by another question, "What do you mean by thus dragging one of the worthiest men in Rome, without trial, to a barbarous and illegal execution?" "If that be all," said Sicinius, "you shall no longer have a pretence for your quarrels and factious behaviour to the people: for they grant you what you desire; the man shall have his trial. And as for you, Marcius, we cite you to appear the third market-day, and satisfy the citizens of your innocence, if you can; for then by their suffrages your affair will be decided." The patricians were content with this compromise; and thinking themselves happy in carrying Marcius off, they retired.

Marcius then, seeing the senate perplexed between their regard for him and fear of the people, asked the tribunes, "What they accused him of, and upon what charge he was to be tried before the people?" Being told, "That he would be tried for treason against the commonwealth, in designing to set himself up as a tyrant:" "Let me go then," said he, "to the people, and make my defence; I refuse no form of trial, nor any kind of punishment, if I be found guilty. Only allege no other crime against me, and do not impose upon the senate." The tribunes agreed to these conditions, and promised that the cause should turn upon this one point.

But the first thing they did after the people were assembled, was to compel them to give their voices by tribes, and not by centuries; thus contriving that the meanest and most seditious part of the populace, and those who had no regard to justice or honour, might out-vote such as had borne arms, or were of some fortune and character. In the

next place, they passed by the charge of his affecting the sovereignty, because they could not prove it, and, instead of it, repeated what Marcius some time before had said in the senate, against lowering the price of corn, and for abolishing the tribunitial power. And they added to the impeachment a new article, namely, his not bringing into the public treasury the spoils he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but dividing them among the soldiers. This last accusation is said to have discomposed Marcius more than all the rest ; for it was what he did not expect, and he could not immediately think of an answer that would satisfy the commonalty ; the praises he bestowed upon those who made that campaign with him, serving only to raise an outcry against him from the majority, who were not concerned in it. At last, when they came to vote, he was condemned by a majority of three tribes, and the penalty to be inflicted upon him was perpetual banishment.

Marcius alone was unmoved and unhumbled. Having returned to his own house, and embraced his mother and his wife, who lamented their fate with the weakness of women, he exhorted them to bear it with patience, and then hastened to one of the city gates, being conducted by the patricians in a body. Thus he quitted Rome, without asking or receiving aught at any man's hand ; and took with him only three or four clients.

There was then a person at Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name, highly distinguished among the Volscians, by his wealth, his valour, and noble birth. Marcius was very sensible, that of all the Romans, himself was the man whom Tullus most hated. For, excited by ambition and emulation, as young warriors usually are, they had in several engagements encountered each other with menaces and

bold defiances, and thus had added personal enmity to the hatred which reigned between the two nations. But, notwithstanding all this, considering the great generosity of Tullus, and knowing that he was more desirous than any of the Volscians of an opportunity to return upon the Romans part of the evils his country had suffered, he took a method which strongly confirms that saying of the poet,—

“Stern Wrath, how strong thy sway! though life's the forfeit,
Thy purpose must be gained.”

For, putting himself in such clothes and habiliments as were most likely to prevent his being known, like Ulysses,—

“He stole into the hostile town.”

It was evening when he entered, and though many people met him in the streets, not one of them knew him. He passed therefore on to the house of Tullus, where he got in undiscovered, and having directly made up to the fireplace, he seated himself without saying a word, covering his face, and remaining in a composed posture. The people of the house were very much surprised; yet they did not venture to disturb him, for there was something of dignity both in his person and his silence; but they went and related the strange adventure to Tullus, who was then at supper. Tullus upon this rose from table, and coming to Coriolanus, asked him who he was, and upon what business he was come? Coriolanus, uncovering his face, paused awhile, and then thus addressed him: “If thou dost not yet know me, Tullus, but distrustest thine own eyes, I must of necessity be mine own accuser. I am Caius Marcius, who have brought so many calamities upon the Volscians, and bear the additional name of Coriolanus, which will not suffer me to deny that imputation, were I disposed to it. For all the

labours and dangers I have undergone, I have no other reward left but that appellation, which distinguishes my enmity to your nation, and which cannot indeed be taken from me. Of everything else I am deprived by the envy and outrage of the people, on the one hand, and the cowardice and treachery of the magistrates and those of mine own order, on the other. Thus driven out an exile, I am come a suppliant to thy household gods; not for shelter and protection, for why should I come hither if I were afraid of death? but for vengeance against those who have expelled me, which methinks, I begin to take, by putting myself into thy hands. If, therefore, thou art disposed to attack the enemy, come on, brave Tullus, avail thyself of my misfortunes; let my personal distress be the common happiness of the Volscians. You may be assured, I shall fight much better for you than I have fought against you, because they who know perfectly the state of the enemy's affairs are much more capable of annoying them, than such as do not know them. But if thou hast given up all thoughts of war, I neither desire to live, nor is it fit for thee to preserve a person who of old has been thine enemy, and now is not able to do thee any sort of service."

Tullus, delighted with this address, gave him his hand, and "Rise," said he, "Marcius, and take courage. The present you thus make of yourself is inestimable; and you may assure yourself that the Volscians will not be ungrateful." Then he entertained him at his table with great kindness; and the next and the following days they consulted together about the war.

They afterwards held secret conferences with the principal Volscians, in which they exhorted them to begin the war, while Rome was torn in pieces with factious disputes; but

a sense of honour restrained some of them from breaking the truce which was concluded for two years. The Romans, however, furnished them with a pretence for it, having, through some suspicion or false suggestion, caused proclamation to be made at one of the public shows or games, that all the Volscians should quit the town before sunset. Some say it was a stratagem contrived by Marcius, who suborned a person to go to the consuls, and accuse the Volscians of a design to attack the Romans during the games, and to set fire to the city. This proclamation exasperated the whole Volscian nation against the Romans: and Tullus, greatly aggravating the affront, at last persuaded them to send to Rome to demand that the lands and cities which had been taken from them in the war should be restored. The senate having heard what the ambassadors had to say, answered with indignation, "that the Volscians might be the first to take up arms, but the Romans would be the last to lay them down." Hereupon, Tullus summoned a general assembly of his countrymen, whom he advised to send for Marcius, and, forgetting all past injuries, to rest satisfied that the service he would do them, now their ally, would greatly exceed all the damage they had received from him while their enemy.

Marcius accordingly was called in, and made an oration to the people; who found that he knew how to speak as well as to fight, and that he excelled in capacity as well as courage, and therefore they joined him in commission with Tullus. As he was afraid that the Volscians would spend much time in preparations, and so lose a favourable opportunity for action, he left it to the magistrates and other principal persons in Antium, to provide troops and whatever else was necessary, while he, without making any set levies,

took a number of volunteers, and with them overran the Roman territories before anybody in Rome could expect it. There he made so much booty, that the Volscians found it difficult to carry it off and consume it in the camp. But the great quantity of provisions he collected, and the damage he did the enemy by committing such spoils, was the least part of the service in this expedition. The great point he had in view in the whole matter, was to increase the people's suspicions of the nobility. For, while he ravaged the whole country, he was very attentive to spare the lands of the patricians, and to see that nothing should be carried off from them. Hence the ill opinion the two parties had of each other; and consequently the troubles grew greater than ever—the patricians accusing the plebeians of unjustly driving out one of the bravest men in Rome, and the plebeians reproaching *them* with bringing Marcius upon them, to indulge their revenge, and with sitting secure spectators of what others suffered by the war, while the war itself was a guard to their lands and subsistence. Marcius having thus effected his purpose, and inspired the Volscians with courage, not only to meet, but even to despise the enemy, drew off his party without being molested.

The Volscian forces assembled with great expedition and alacrity: and they appeared so considerable, that it was thought proper to leave part to garrison their towns, while the rest marched against the Romans. Coriolanus leaving it in the option of Tullus which corps he would command, Tullus observed, that as his colleague was not at all inferior to himself in valour, and had hitherto fought with better success, he thought it most advisable for *him* to lead the army into the field, while himself stayed behind to provide for the defence of the towns, and to

supply the troops that made the campaign with everything necessary.

There was nothing but disorder at Rome. The Romans refused to fight, and passed their time in cabals, seditious speeches, and mutual complaints; until news was brought that Coriolanus had laid siege to Lavinium, where the holy symbols of the gods of their fathers were placed, and from whence they derived their origin,—that being the first city which Æneas built. A wonderful and universal change of opinion then appeared among the people, and a very strange and absurd one among the patricians. The people were desirous to annul the sentence against Marcius, and to recall him to Rome, but the senate being assembled to deliberate on that point, finally rejected the proposition; either out of a perverse humour of opposing whatever measure the people espoused, or perhaps unwilling that Coriolanus should owe his return to the favour of the people; or else having conceived some resentment against him for harassing and distressing all the Romans, when he had been injured only by a part, and for shewing himself an enemy to his country, in which he knew the most respectable body had both sympathised with him, and shared in his ill-treatment: this resolution being announced to the commons, it was not in their power to proceed to vote or to pass a bill; for a previous decree of the senate was necessary.

At this news, Coriolanus was still more exasperated; so that, quitting the siege of Lavinium, he marched with great fury towards Rome, and encamped only five miles from it, at the Fossæ Cluiliæ. The sight of him caused great terror and confusion, but for the present it appeased the sedition: for neither magistrate nor senator durst any longer oppose the people's desire to recall him. When they saw the

women running up and down the streets, and the supplications and tears of the aged men at the altars of the gods, when all courage and spirit were gone, and salutary councils were no more ; then they acknowledged that the people were right in endeavouring to be reconciled to Coriolanus, and that the senate were under a great mistake, in beginning to indulge the passions of anger and revènge at a time when they should have renounced them. All, therefore, agreed to send ambassadors to Coriolanus to offer him liberty to return, and to entreat him to put an end to the war. Those that went on the part of the senate, being all either relations or friends of Coriolanus, expected at the first interview much kindness from a man who was thus connected with them. But it happened quite otherwise ; for, being conducted through the Volscian ranks, they found him seated in council, with a number of great officers, and with an insufferable appearance of pomp and severity. He bade them then declare their business, which they did in a very modest and humble manner, as became the state of their affairs.

When they had made an end of speaking, he answered them with much bitterness and high resentment of the injuries done him ; and, as general of the Volscians, he insisted, “that the Romans should restore all the cities and lands which they had taken in the former wars ; and that they should grant by decree the freedom of the city to the Volscians, as they had done to the Latins ; for that no lasting peace could be made between the two nations, but upon these just and equal conditions.” He gave them thirty days to consider them ; and having dismissed the ambassadors, he immediately retired from the Roman territories.

Coriolanus, however, did not spend those thirty days idly. He harassed the enemy’s allies, laid waste their lands,

and took seven great and populous cities in that interval. The Romans did not venture to send them any succours. They were as spiritless, and as little disposed to the war, as if their bodies had been relaxed and benumbed with the palsy.

When the term was expired, and Coriolanus returned with all his forces, they sent a second embassy, "to entreat him to lay aside his resentment, to draw off the Volscians from their territories, and then to proceed as should seem most conducive to the advantage of both nations. For that the Romans would not give up anything through fear; but if he thought it reasonable that the Volscians should be indulged in some particular points, they would be duly considered if they laid down their arms." Coriolanus replied, "That as general of the Volscians, he would give them no answer; but as one who was yet a citizen of Rome, he would advise and exhort them to entertain humble thoughts, and to come within three days with a ratification of the just conditions he had proposed. At the same time he assured them, that if their resolutions should be of a different nature, it would not be safe for them to come any more into his camp with empty words."

The senate, having received the report of the ambassadors, considered the commonwealth as ready to sink in the waves of a dreadful tempest, and therefore cast the last, the "sacred anchor," as it is called. They ordered all the priests of the gods, the ministers and guardians of the mysteries, and all that, by the ancient usage of their country, practised divination by the flight of birds, to go to Coriolanus, in their robes, with the ensigns which they bear in the duties of their office, and exert their utmost endeavours to persuade him to desist from the war, and then to treat with his countrymen of articles of peace for the Volscians,

When they came, he did indeed vouchsafe to admit them into the camp, but shewed them no other favour, nor gave them a milder answer than the others had received; he bade them, in short, “either accept the former proposals, or prepare for war.”

When the priests returned, the Romans resolved to keep close within the city, and to defend the walls; intending only to repulse the enemy, should he attack them, and placing their chief hopes on the accidents of time and fortune: for they knew of no resource within themselves: the city was full of trouble and confusion, terror and unhappy presages.

The Roman women were then dispersed in the several temples, but the greatest part and the most illustrious of the matrons made their supplications at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among the last was Valeria, the sister of the great Publicola, a person who had done the Romans the most considerable services both in peace and war. Publicola died some time before, but Valeria still lived in the greatest esteem; and her life did honour to her high birth. This woman discerning, by some divine impulse, what would be the best expedient, rose and called upon the other matrons to attend her to the house of Volumnia, the mother of Coriolanus. When she entered, and found her sitting with her daughter-in-law, and with the children of Coriolanus on her lap, she approached her with her female companions, and spoke to this effect:—“We address ourselves to you, Volumnia and Virgilia, as women to women, without any decree of the senate or order of the consuls. But our god, we believe, lending a merciful ear to our prayers, put it in our minds to apply to you, and to entreat you to do a thing that will not only be salutary to us and the other citizens, but more glorious for you, if you

hearken to us, than the reducing their fathers and husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship was to the daughters of the Sabines. Come, then, go along with us to Coriolanus ; join your instances to ours ; and give a true and honourable testimony to your country, that though she has received the greatest injuries from him, yet she has neither done nor resolved upon anything against you in her anger, but restores you safe into his hands, though perhaps she may not obtain any better terms to herself on that account."

When Valeria had thus spoken, the rest of the women joined her request. Volumnia gave them this answer:—"Besides the share which we have in the general calamity, we are, my friends, in particular very unhappy ; since Marcius is lost to us, his glory obscured, and his virtue gone ; since we behold him surrounded by the arms of the enemies of his country, not as their prisoner, but their commander. But it is a still greater misfortune to us, if our country is become so weak as to have need to repose her hopes upon us. For I know not whether he will have any regard for us, since he has had none for his country, which he used to prefer to his mother, to his wife, and children. Take us, however, and make what use of us you please. Lead us to him. If we can do nothing else, we can expire at his feet in supplicating for Rome."

She then took the children and Virgilia with her, and went with the other matrons to the Volscian camp. The sight of them produced, even in the enemy, compassion and a reverential silence. Coriolanus, who then happened to be seated upon the tribunal with his principal officers, seeing the women approach, was greatly agitated and surprised. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to retain his wonted stern-



“First he embraced his mother for a considerable time, and afterwards his wife and children, neither refraining from tears nor any other instance of natural tenderness.”—OLD WORLD WORTHIES, Page 181.

ness and inexorable temper, though he perceived that his wife was at the head of them. But, unable to resist the emotions of affection, he could not suffer them to address him as he sat. He descended from the tribunal and ran to meet them. First he embraced his mother for a considerable time, and afterwards his wife and children, neither refraining from tears nor any other instance of natural tenderness.

When he had sufficiently indulged his passion, and perceived that his mother wanted to speak, he called the Volscian counsellors to him, and Volumnia expressed herself to this purpose :—" You see, my son, by our attire and miserable looks, and therefore I may spare myself the trouble of declaring, to what condition your banishment has reduced us. Think with yourself whether we are not the most unhappy of women, when fortune has changed the spectacle that should have been the most pleasing in the world, into the most dreadful ; when Volumnia beholds her son, and Virgilia her husband, encamped in a hostile manner before the walls of his native city. And what to others is the greatest consolation under misfortune and adversity, I mean prayer to the gods, to us is rendered impracticable ; for we cannot at the same time beg victory for our country and your preservation, but what our worst enemies would imprecate on us a curse, must of necessity be interwoven with our prayers. Your wife and children must either see their country perish, or you. As to my own part, I will not live to see this war decided by fortune. If I cannot persuade you to prefer friendship and union to enmity and its ruinous consequences, and so to become a benefactor to both sides, rather than the destruction of one, you must take this along with you, and prepare to expect it, that you shall not advance

against your country, without trampling upon the dead body of her that bore you. For it does not become me to wait for that day, when my son shall be either led captive by his fellow-citizens, or triumph over Rome. If, indeed, I desired you to save your country by ruining the Volscians, I confess the case would be hard, and the choice difficult: for it would neither be honourable to destroy your countrymen, nor just to betray those who have placed their confidence in you. But what do we desire of you, more than deliverance from our own calamities? A deliverance which will be equally salutary to both parties, but most to the honour of the Volscians, since it will appear that their superiority empowered them to grant us the greatest of blessings, peace, and friendship, while they themselves receive the same. If these take place, you will be acknowledged to be the principal cause of them; if they do not, you alone must expect to bear the blame from both nations. And though the chance of war is uncertain, yet it will be the certain event of this, that if you conquer you will be a destroying demon to your country; if you are beaten, it will be clear that, by indulging your resentment, you have plunged your friends and benefactors in the greatest of misfortunes."

Coriolanus listened to his mother while she went on with her speech, without saying the least word to her; and Volumentia, seeing him stand a long time mute after she had left speaking, proceeded again in this manner:—"Why are you silent, my son? Is it an honour to yield everything to anger and resentment, and would it be a disgrace to yield to your mother in so important a petition? Or does it become a great man to remember the injuries done him, and would it not equally become a great and good man with the highest regard and reverence to keep in mind the

benefits he has received from his parents? Surely you, of all men, should take care to be grateful, who have suffered so extremely by ingratitude. And yet, though you have already severely punished your country, you have not made your mother the least return for her kindness. The most sacred ties both of nature and religion, without any other constraint, require that you should indulge me in this just and reasonable request; but if words cannot prevail, this only resource is left." When she had said this, she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children; upon which Coriolanus crying out, "O mother!—what is it you have done?" raised her from the ground, and tenderly pressing her hand, continued, "You have gained a victory fortunate for your country but ruinous to me. I go, vanquished by you alone." Then, after a short conference with his mother and wife in private, he sent them back to Rome, agreeably to their desire. Next morning he drew off the Volscians, who had not all the same sentiments of what had passed. Some blamed him; others, whose inclinations were for peace, found no fault; others again, though they disliked what was done, did not look upon Coriolanus as a bad man, but thought he was excusable in yielding to such powerful solicitations. However, none presumed to contradict his orders, though they followed him rather out of veneration for his virtue, than regard to his authority.

The sense of the dreadful and dangerous circumstances which the Roman people had been in by reason of the war, never appeared so strong as when they were delivered from it. For no sooner did they perceive from the walls, that the Volscians were drawing off, than all the temples were opened and filled with persons crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice, as for some great victory. But in nothing

was the public joy more evident than in the affectionate regard and honour which both the senate and people paid the women, whom they both considered and declared the means of their preservation. Nevertheless, when the senate decreed, that whatever they thought would contribute most to their glory and satisfaction, the consuls should take care to see it done, they only desired that a temple might be built to the "Fortune of Women," the expense of which they offered to defray themselves, requiring the commonwealth to be at no other charge than that of sacrifices, and such a solemn service as was suitable to the majesty of the gods. The senate, though they commended their generosity, ordered the temple and shrine to be erected at the public charge; but the women contributed their money notwithstanding, and with it provided another image of the goddess, which the Romans report, when it was set up in the temple, to have uttered these words, "O women! most acceptable to the gods is this your pious gift."

When Coriolanus returned, after this expedition, to Antium, Tullus, who both hated and feared him, resolved to assassinate him immediately; being persuaded, that if he missed this, he should not have such another opportunity. First, therefore, he collected and prepared a number of accomplices, and then called upon Coriolanus to divest himself of his authority, and give an account of his conduct to the Volscians. Dreading the consequence of being reduced to a private station, while Tullus, who had so great an interest with his countrymen, was in power, he made answer, that if the Volscians required it, he would give up his commission, and not otherwise, since he had taken it at their common request; but that he was ready to give an account of his behaviour even then, if the citizens

of Antium would have it so. Hereupon, they met in full assembly, and some of the orators who were prepared for it, endeavoured to exasperate the populace against him. But when Coriolanus stood up, the violence of the tumult abated, and he had liberty to speak,—the best part of the people of Antium, and those that were most inclined to peace, appearing ready to hear him with candour, and to pass sentence with equity. Tullus was then afraid that he would make but too good a defence: for he was an eloquent man, and the former advantages which he had procured the nation outweighed his present offence. Nay, the very impeachment was a clear proof of the greatness of the benefits he had conferred upon them. For they would never have thought themselves injured in not conquering Rome, if they had not been near taking it through his means. The conspirators, therefore, judged it prudent not to wait any longer, or to try the multitude; and the boldest of their faction, crying out that a traitor ought not to be heard, or suffered by the Volscians to act the tyrant, and refuse to lay down his authority, rushed upon him in a body, and killed him on the spot,—not one that was present lifting a hand to defend him. It was soon evident that this was not done with the general approbation; for they assembled from several cities, to give his body an honourable burial, and adorned his monument with arms and spoils, as became a distinguished warrior and general.

When the Romans were informed of his death, they shewed no sign either of favour or resentment. Only they permitted the women, at their request, to go into mourning for ten months, as they used to do for a father, a son, or a brother.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

BORN ABOUT B.C. 246—DIED 146.



FABIUS MAXIMUS was five times consul; and in his first consulship was honoured with a triumph for the victory he gained over the Ligurians; who, being defeated by him in a set battle, with the loss of a great number of men, were driven behind the Alps, and kept from such inroads and ravages as they used to make in the neighbouring provinces.

Some years after, Hannibal, having invaded Italy and gained the battle of Trebia, advanced through Tuscany, laying waste the country, and striking Rome itself with terror and astonishment.

Caius Flaminius, then consul, declared he would never suffer the war to approach Rome, nor, like Camillus of old, dispute within the walls who should be the master of the city. He, therefore, ordered the tribunes to draw out the forces, and mounted his horse, but was thrown headlong off, the horse, without any visible cause, being seized with a fright and trembling. Yet he persisted in his resolution of marching out to meet Hannibal, and drew up his army near the lake called Thrasymenus, in Tuscany.

While the armies were engaged, there happened an earthquake, which overturned whole cities, changed the course of

rivers, and tore off the tops of mountains: yet not one of the combatants was in the least sensible of that violent motion. Flaminius himself, having greatly signalised his strength and valour, fell; and with him the bravest of his troops; the rest being routed, a great carnage ensued: full fifteen thousand were slain, and as many taken prisoners. Hannibal was very desirous of discovering the body of Flaminius, that he might bury it with due honour, as a tribute to his bravery, but he could not find it, nor could any account be given what became of it.

When the Romans lost the battle of Trebia, neither the generals sent a true account of it, nor the messenger represented it as it was: both pretended the victory was doubtful. But as to the last, as soon as the prætor Pomponius was apprised of it, he assembled the people, and without disguising the matter in the least, made this declaration: "Romans! we have lost a great battle; our army is cut to pieces, and Flaminius the consul is slain; think, therefore, what is to be done for your safety." The same commotion which a furious wind causes in the ocean, did these words of the prætor produce in so vast a multitude. In the first consternation they could not fix upon anything: but at length, all agreed that affairs required the direction of an absolute power, which they called the dictatorship, and that a man should be pitched upon for it, who would exercise it with steadiness and intrepidity. That such a man was Fabius Maximus, who had a spirit and dignity of manners equal to so great a command, and, besides, was of an age in which the vigour of the body is sufficient to execute the purposes of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

Pursuant to these resolutions, Fabius was chosen dictator, and he appointed Lucius Minucius his general of the horse.

He placed all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that Heaven blesses men with success on account of their virtue and prudence ; and therefore he watched the motions of Hannibal, not with a design to give him battle, but by length of time to waste his spirit and vigour, and gradually to destroy him by means of his superiority in men and money. To secure himself against the enemy's horse, he took care to encamp above them on high and mountainous places. When they sat still he did the same ; when they were in motion he shewed himself upon the heights, at such a distance as not to be obliged to fight against his inclination, and yet near enough to keep them in perpetual alarm, as if, amidst his arts to gain time, he intended every moment to give them battle.

These dilatory proceedings exposed him to contempt among the Romans in general, and even in his own army. The enemy too, excepting Hannibal, thought him a man of no spirit. He alone was sensible of the keenness of Fabius, and of the manner in which he intended to carry on the war, and therefore was determined, if possible, either by stratagem or force, to bring him to battle, concluding that otherwise the Carthaginians must be undone : since they could not decide the matter in the field, where they had the advantage, but must gradually wear away and be reduced to nothing, when the dispute was only who should be superior in men and money. Hence it was that he exhausted the whole art of war ; like a skilful wrestler, who watches every opportunity to lay hold of his adversary. Sometimes he advanced and alarmed him with the apprehensions of an attack ; sometimes by marching and countermarching he led him from place to place, hoping to draw him from his plan of caution. But as he was fully persuaded of its utility, he

kept immovably to his resolution. Minucius, his general of horse, gave him, however, no small trouble, by his unseasonable courage and heat, haranguing the army, and filling them with a furious desire to come to action, and a vain confidence of success. Thus the soldiers were brought to despise Fabius, and by way of derision to call him the pedagogue of Hannibal, while they extolled Minucius as a great man, and one that acted up to the dignity of Rome. This led Minucius to give a freer scope to his arrogance and pride, and to ridicule the dictator for encamping constantly upon the mountains, "as if he did it on purpose that his men might more clearly behold Italy laid waste with fire and sword." And he asked the friends of Fabius, "whether he intended to take his army up into heaven, as he had bid adieu to the world below, or whether he would screen himself from the enemy with clouds and fogs." When the dictator's friends brought him an account of these aspersions, and exhorted him to wipe them off by risking a battle, "In that case," said he, "I should be of a more dastardly spirit than they represent me, if through fear of insults and reproaches, I should depart from my own resolution. But to fear for my country is not a disagreeable fear. That man is unworthy of such a command as this, who sinks under calumnies and slanders, and complies with the humour of those whom he ought to govern, and whose folly and rashness it is his duty to restrain."

When Fabius was informed of the resentment of his fellow-citizens, he bore it with invincible patience; but being in want of money to purchase the captives, and not choosing to deceive Hannibal, or to abandon his countrymen in their distress, he sent his son to Rome, with orders to sell part of his estate, and bring him the money immediately. This was

punctually performed by his son, and Fabius redeemed the prisoners ; several of whom afterwards offered to repay him, but his generosity would not permit him to accept it.

After this he was called to Rome by the priests, to assist at some of the solemn sacrifices, and therefore was obliged to leave the army to Minucius ; but he both charged him as dictator, and used many arguments and entreaties with him as a friend, not to come to any kind of action. The pains he took were lost upon Minucius ; for he immediately sought occasions to fight the enemy. And observing one day that Hannibal had sent out a great part of his army to forage, he attacked those that were left behind, and drove them within their intrenchments, killing great numbers of them, so that they even feared he would storm their camp : and when the rest of the Carthaginian forces were returned, he retreated without loss. This success added to his temerity, and increased the ardour of his soldiers. The report of it soon reached Rome, and the advantage was represented as much greater than it really was. When Fabius was informed of it, he said, “he dreaded nothing more than the success of Minucius.” But the people, mightily elated with the news, ran to the forum ; and their tribune Metilius harangued them from the rostrum, highly extolling Minucius, and accusing Fabius now, not of cowardice and want of spirit, but of treachery. He endeavoured also to involve the principal men in Rome in the same crime, alleging, “that they had originally brought the war upon Italy, for the destruction of the common people, and had put the commonwealth under the absolute direction of one man, who by his slow proceedings gave Hannibal opportunity to establish himself in the country, and to draw fresh forces from Carthage in order to effect a total conquest of Italy.”

Fabius disdained to make any defence against these allegations of the tribune ; he only declared that “ he would finish the sacrifice and other religious rites as soon as possible, that he might return to the army and punish Minucius for fighting contrary to his orders.” This occasioned a great tumult among the people, who were alarmed at the danger of Minucius. For it is in the dictator’s power to imprison and afflict capital punishment without form of trial : and they thought that the wrath of Fabius now provoked, though he was naturally very mild and patient, would prove heavy and implacable. But fear kept them all silent, except Metilius, whose person, as tribune of the people, could not be touched, (for the tribunes are the only officers of state that retain their authority after the appointing of a dictator.) Metilius entreated, insisted that the people should not give up Minucius, to suffer, perhaps, what Manlius Torquatus caused his own son to suffer, whom he beheaded when crowned with laurel for his victory,—but that they should take from Fabius his power to play the tyrant, and leave the direction of affairs to one who was both able and willing to save his country. The people, though much affected with this speech, did not venture to divest Fabius of the dictatorship, notwithstanding the odium he had incurred, but decreed that Minucius should share the command with him, and have equal authority in conducting the war, a thing never before practised in Rome.

When the people had thus invested Minucius with a power equal to that of the dictator, they thought they should find Fabius extremely humbled and dejected ; but it soon appeared that they knew not the man. For he did not reckon their mistake any unhappiness to him ; but as Diogenes, the philosopher, when one said, “ They deride

you," answered well, "But I am not derided;" accounting those only to be ridiculed who feel the ridicule and are discomposed at it; so Fabius bore without emotion all that happened to himself, herein confirming that position in philosophy, which affirms that "a wise and good man can suffer no disgrace." But he was under no small concern for the public, on account of the unadvised proceedings of the people, who had put it in the power of a rash man to indulge his indiscreet ambition for military distinction. And apprehensive that Minucius, infatuated with ambition, might take some fatal step, he left Rome very privately.

Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the arrogance of Minucius grown to such a height, that it was no longer to be endured. Fabius, therefore, refused to comply with his demand of having the army under his orders every other day, and, instead of that, divided the forces with him, choosing rather to have the full command of a part, than the direction of the whole by turns. He therefore took the first and fourth legions himself, leaving the second and third to Minucius; and the confederate forces were likewise equally divided.

Minucius valued himself highly upon this, that the power of the greatest and most arbitrary office in the state was controlled and reduced for his sake. But Fabius put him in mind, "that it was not Fabius whom he had to contend with, but Hannibal: that if he would, notwithstanding, consider his colleague as his rival, he must take care lest he who had so successfully carried his point with the people, should one day appear to have their safety and interest less at heart, than the man who had been so ill treated by them." Minucius considering this as the effect of an old man's pique, and taking the troops that fell to his lot, marked out

a separate camp for them. Hannibal was well informed of all that had passed, and watched his opportunity to take advantage of it.

There was a hill betwixt him and the enemy, not difficult to take possession of, which yet would afford an army a very safe and commodious post. The ground about it, at a distance, seemed quite level and plain, though there were in it several ditches and hollows : and therefore, though he might privately have seized that post with ease, yet he left it as a bait to draw the enemy to an engagement. But as soon as he saw Minucius parted from Fabius, he took an opportunity in the night to place a number of men in those ditches and hollows : and early in the morning he openly sent out a small party, as if designed to make themselves masters of the hill, but really to draw Minucius to dispute it with them. The event answered his expectation. For Minucius sent out his light-armed troops first, then the cavalry, and at last, when he saw Hannibal send reinforcements to his men upon the hill, he marched out with all his forces in order of battle, and attacked with great vigour the Carthaginians, who were marking out a camp upon the hill. The fortune of the day was doubtful, until Hannibal, perceiving that the enemy had fallen into the snare, and that their rear was open to the ambuscade, instantly gave the signal. Hereupon, his men rushed out on all sides, and advancing with loud shouts, and cutting in pieces the hindmost ranks, they put the Romans in disorder and terror inexpressible. Even the spirit of Minucius began to shrink ; and he looked first upon one officer and then upon another, but not one of them durst stand his ground ; they all betook themselves to flight, and the flight itself proved fatal. For the Numidians, now victorious, gal-

loped round the plain, and killed those whom they found dispersed.

Fabius was not ignorant of the danger of his countrymen. Foreseeing what would happen, he kept his forces under arms, and took care to be informed how the action went on : nor did he trust to the reports of others, but he himself looked out from an eminence not far from his camp. When he saw the army of his colleague surrounded and broken, and the cry reached him, not like that of men standing the charge, but of persons flying in great dismay, he smote upon his thigh, and with a deep sigh said to his friends about him, "Ye gods ! how much sooner than I expected, and yet later than his indiscreet proceedings required, has Minucius ruined himself !" Then having commanded the standard-bearers to advance, and the whole army to follow, he addressed them in these words : "Now, my brave soldiers, if any one has a regard for Marcus Minucius, let him exert himself ; for he deserves assistance for his valour, and the love he bears his country. If, in his haste to drive out the enemy, he has committed any error, this is not a time to find fault with him."

The first sight of Fabius frightened away the Numidians, who were picking up stragglers in the field. Then he attacked those who were charging the Romans in the rear. Such as made resistance he slew ; but the greatest part retreated to their own army, before the communication was cut off, lest they should themselves be surrounded in their turn. Hannibal seeing this change of fortune, and finding that Fabius pushed on through the hottest of the battle with a vigour above his years to come up to Minucius upon the hill, put an end to the dispute, and having sounded a retreat, retired into his camp. The Romans, on their part,

were not sorry when the action was over. Hannibal, as he was drawing off, is reported to have said smartly to those that were by, "Did not I often tell you, that this cloud would one day burst upon us from the mountains, with all the fury of a storm?"

After the battle, Fabius having collected the spoils of such Carthaginians as were left dead upon the field, returned to his post; nor did he let fall one haughty or angry word against his colleague. As for Minucius, having called his men together, he thus expressed himself: "Friends and fellow-soldiers! not to err at all in the management of great affairs, is above the wisdom of men; but it is the part of a prudent and good man, to learn, from his errors and miscarriages, to correct himself for the future. For my part, I confess, that though fortune has frowned upon me a little, I have much to thank her for. For what I could not be brought to be sensible of in so long a time, I have learned in the small compass of one day, that I know not how to command, but have need to be under the direction of another; and from this moment I bid adieu to the ambition of getting the better of a man whom it is an honour to be foiled by. In all other respects, the dictator shall be your commander; but in the due expressions of gratitude to him, I will be your leader still, by being the first to shew an example of obedience and submission."

He then ordered the ensigns to advance with the eagles, and the troops to follow, himself marching at their head to the camp of Fabius. Being admitted, he went directly to his tent. The whole army waited with impatience for the event. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his standard before him, and with a loud voice saluted him by the name of "Father;" at the same time his soldiers called those of

Fabius their "patrons : " an appellation which freedmen give to those that enfranchise them. These respects being paid, and silence taking place, Minucius thus addressed himself to the dictator :—" You have this day, Fabius, obtained two victories ; one over the enemy by your valour, the other over your colleague by your prudence and humanity. By the former you saved us, by the latter you have instructed us : and Hannibal's victory over us is not more disgraceful than yours is honourable and salutary to us. I call you ' Father,' not knowing a more honourable name, and am more indebted to you than to my real father. To him I owe my being, but to you the preservation of my life, and the lives of all these brave men." After this, he threw himself into the arms of Fabius, and the soldiers of each army embraced one another, with every expression of tenderness, and with tears of joy.

Not long after this, Fabius laid down the dictatorship, and consuls were created. The first of these kept to the plan which Fabius had laid down. He took care not to come to a pitched battle with Hannibal, but sent succours to the allies of Rome, and prevented any revolt in their cities. But when Terentius Varro, a man of obscure birth, and remarkable only for his temerity and servile complaisance to the people, rose to the consulship, it soon appeared that his boldness and inexperience would bring him to risk the very being of the commonwealth. For he loudly insisted in the assemblies of the people, that the war stood still whilst it was under the conduct of the Fabii ; but, for his part, he would take but one day to get sight of the enemy and to beat him.

Having brought his colleague to agree that they should command alternately each his day, when his turn came, he

took post over against Hannibal, on the banks of the Aufidus, near the village of Cannæ. As soon as it was light, he gave the signal for battle, which is a red mantle set up over the general's tent. The Carthaginians were a little disheartened at first, when they saw how daring the consul was, and that the army was more than twice their number. But Hannibal having ordered them to arm, himself, with a few others, rode up to an eminence, to take a view of the enemy now drawn up for battle.

In this battle Hannibal gave great proofs of generalship. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground, to post his men with their backs to the wind, which was then very violent and scorching, and drove from the dry plains, over the heads of the Carthaginians, clouds of sand and dust into the eyes and nostrils of the Romans, so that they were obliged to turn away their faces and break their ranks. In the next place, his troops were drawn up with superior art. He placed the flower of them in the wings, and those upon whom he had less dependence in the main corps, which was considerably more advanced than the wings. Then he commanded those in the wings, that when the enemy had charged and vigorously pushed that advanced body, which he knew would give way, and open a passage for them to the very centre, and when the Romans by this means should be far enough engaged within the two wings, they should both on the right and left take them in flank, and endeavour to surround them. This was the principal cause of the great carnage that followed. For the enemy pressing upon Hannibal's front, which gave ground, the form of his army was changed into a half-moon; and the officers of the select troops caused the two points of the wings to join behind the Romans. Thus they were exposed to the attacks of the

Carthaginians on all sides ; an incredible slaughter followed ; nor did any escape but the few that retreated before the main body was enclosed.

It is also said, that a strange and fatal accident happened to the Roman cavalry. For the horse which Æmilius rode having received some hurt, threw him ; and those about him alighting to assist and defend the consul on foot, the rest of the cavalry seeing this, and taking it for a signal for them to do the same, all quitted their horses, and charged on foot. At sight of this, Hannibal said, "This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot." But the particulars may be found at large in the historians who have described this battle.

As to the consuls, Varro escaped with a few horse to Venutia ; and Æmilius, covered with darts which stuck in his wounds, sat down in anguish and despair, waiting for the enemy to despatch him. His head and his face were so disfigured and stained with blood, that it was not easy to know him ; even his friends and servants passed by him without stopping. At last, Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of a patrician family, perceiving who he was, dismounted, and entreated him to take his horse, and save himself for the commonwealth, which had then more occasion than ever for so good a consul. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the offer ; and, notwithstanding the young man's tears, he obliged him to mount his horse again. Then rising up, and taking him by the hand, "Tell Fabius Maximus," said he, "and, Lentulus, do you yourself be witness, that Paulus Æmilius followed his directions to the last, and did not deviate in the least from the plan agreed upon between them, but was first overcome by Varro, and then by Hannibal." Having despatched Lentulus with this

commission, he rushed among the enemy's swords, and was slain. Fifty thousand Romans are said to have fallen in this battle, and four thousand to have been taken prisoners, beside ten thousand that were taken after the battle in both the camps.

After this great success, Hannibal's friends advised him to pursue his fortune, and to enter Rome along with the fugitives, assuring him that in five days he might sup in the Capitol. It is not easy to conjecture what his reason was for not taking this step. Most probably some deity opposed it, and therefore inspired him with this hesitation and timidity. On this account it was that a Carthaginian, named Barca, said to him with some heat, "Hannibal, you know how to gain a victory, but not how to use it."

The battle of Cannæ, however, made such an alteration in his affairs, that though before it he had neither town, nor magazine, nor port in Italy, but, without any regular supplies for the war, subsisted his army by rapine, and for that purpose moved them, like a great band of robbers, from place to place, yet then he became master of the greatest part of Italy. Its best provinces and towns voluntarily submitted to him, and Capua itself, the most respectable city after Rome, threw its weight into his scale.

When the Romans found that Hannibal, after the battle, instead of marching to Rome, turned to another part of Italy, they took courage, and sent their armies and generals into the field. The most eminent of these were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men distinguished by characters almost entirely opposite. Marcellus was a man of a buoyant and animated valour; remarkably well skilled in the use of weapons, and naturally enterprising; such a one, in short, as Homer calls "lofty in heart, in cou-

rage fierce, in war delighting." So intrepid a general was very fit to be opposed to an enemy as daring as himself, to restore the courage and spirit of the Romans, by some vigorous stroke in the first engagements. As for Fabius, he kept to his first sentiments, and hoped, that if he only followed Hannibal close, without fighting him, he and his army would wear themselves out, and lose their warlike vigour, just as a wrestler does, who keeps continually in the ring, and allows himself no repose, to recruit his strength after excessive fatigues. Hence it was that the Romans (as Posidonius tells us) called Fabius "their shield," and Marcellus "their sword," and used to say, that the steadiness and caution of the one, mixed with the vivacity and boldness of the other, made a compound very salutary to Rome. Hannibal, therefore, often meeting Marcellus, whose motions were like those of a torrent, found his forces broken and diminished; and by Fabius, who moved with a silent but constant stream, he was undermined and insensibly weakened. Such, at length, was the extremity he was reduced to, that he was tired of fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius. And these were the persons he had generally to do with during the remainder of the war, as prætors, consuls, or proconsuls: for each of them was five times consul. It is true, Marcellus, in his fifth consulate, was drawn into his snares, and killed by means of an ambuscade. Hannibal often made the like attempts upon Fabius, exerting all his arts and stratagems, but without effect. Once only he deceived him, and had nearly led him into a fatal error. He forged letters to him, as from the principal inhabitants of Metapontum, offering to deliver up the city to him, and assuring him that those who had taken this resolution only waited till he appeared before it.

Fabius giving credit to these letters, ordered a party to be ready, intending to march thither in the night : but finding the auspices unpromising, he altered his design, and soon after discovered that the letters were forged by an artifice of Hannibal's, and that he was lying in ambush for him near the town. But this perhaps may be ascribed to the favour and protection of the gods.

By means of a love affair, Fabius recovered the city of Tarentum, which had been treacherously delivered up to Hannibal. A young man, a native of that place, who served under Fabius, had a sister there, who loved him with great tenderness. This youth being informed that a certain Brutian, one of the officers of the garrison which Hannibal had put in Tarentum, entertained a violent passion for his sister, hoped to avail himself of this circumstance to the advantage of the Romans. Therefore, with the permission of Fabius, he returned to his sister at Tarentum, under colour of having deserted. Some days passed, during which the Brutian forbore his visits, for she supposed that her brother knew nothing of the amour. This obliged the young man to come to an explanation. "It has been currently reported," said he, "that you receive addresses from a man of some distinction. Pray, who is he? If he is a man of honour and character, as they say he is, Mars, who confounds all things, takes but little thought of what country he may be. What necessity imposes is no disgrace ; but we may rather think ourselves fortunate, at a time when justice yields to force, if that which force might compel us to, happens not to be disagreeable to our own inclinations." Thus encouraged, the young woman sent for the Brutian, and presented him to her brother. And as she behaved to him in a kinder and more complying manner through her

brother's means, who was very indulgent to his passion, it was not very difficult to prevail with the Brutian, who was deeply in love, and was withal a mercenary, to deliver up the town, upon promises of great rewards from Fabius.

Hannibal had hastened to the relief of Tarentum, and being within five miles of it, when it was taken, he scrupled not to say publicly, "The Romans, too, have their Hannibal; for we have lost Tarentum in the same manner that we gained it." And in private he then first acknowledged to his friends, "that he had always thought it difficult, but now saw it was impossible, with the forces he had, to conquer Italy."

Fabius for this was honoured with a triumph, more splendid than the former, having gloriously maintained the field against Hannibal, and baffled all his schemes with ease, just as an able wrestler disengages himself from the arms of his antagonist, whose grasp no longer retains the same vigour. For Hannibal's army was now partly enervated with opulence and luxury, and partly impaired and worn with continual action.

Marcus Livius, who commanded in Tarentum, when it was betrayed to Hannibal, retired into the citadel, and held it till it was retaken by the Romans. This officer beheld with pain the honours conferred upon Fabius, and one day his envy and vanity drew from him this expression in the senate, "I, not Fabius, was the cause of recovering Tarentum." "True," said Fabius, laughing, "for if you had not lost the town, I had never recovered it."

Among other honours which the Romans paid to Fabius, they elected his son consul. When he had entered upon his office, and was settling some point relating to the war, the father, either on account of his age and infirmities, or

else to try his son, mounted his horse to ride up to him. The young consul seeing him at a distance, would not suffer it, but sent one of the lictors to his father with orders for him to dismount, and to come on foot to the consul, if he had any occasion to apply to him. The whole assembly were moved at this, and cast their eyes upon Fabius, by their silence and their looks expressing their resentment of the indignity offered to a person of his character. But he instantly alighted, and ran to his son, and embraced him with great tenderness. "My son," said he, "I applaud your sentiments and your behaviour. You know what a people you command, and have a just sense of the dignity of your office. This was the way that we and our forefathers took to advance Rome to her present height of glory, always considering the honour and interest of our country before that of our own fathers and children."

When Fabius Maximus had the misfortune to lose his son, he bore that loss with great moderation, as became a wise man and a good father; and the funeral oration, which on occasion of the death of illustrious men is usually pronounced by some near kinsman, he delivered himself; and having committed it to writing, made it public.

When Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent proconsul into Spain, had defeated the Carthaginians in many battles, and driven them out of that province; and when he had, moreover, reduced several towns and nations under the obedience of Rome, on returning loaded with spoil, he was received with great acclamations and general joy. Being appointed consul, and finding that the people expected something great and striking at his hands, he considered it as an antiquated method, and worthy only of the inactivity of an old man, to watch the motions of Hannibal in Italy;

and therefore determined to remove the seat of war from thence into Africa, to fill the enemy's country with his legions, to extend his ravages far and wide, and to attempt Carthage itself. With this view he exerted all his talents to bring the people into his design. But Fabius, on this occasion, filled the city with alarms, as if the commonwealth was going to be brought into the most extreme danger by a rash and indiscreet young man; in short, he scrupled not to do or say anything he thought likely to dissuade his countrymen from embracing the proposal. With the senate he carried his point. But the people believing that his opposition to Scipio proceeded either from envy of his success, or from a secret fear that if this young hero should perform some signal exploit, put an end to the war, or even remove it out of Italy, his own slow proceedings through the course of so many years might be imputed to indolence or timidity.

To me Fabius seems at first to have opposed the measures of Scipio, from an excess of caution and prudence, and to have really thought the danger attending his project great; but in the progress of the opposition, I think he went too great lengths, misled by ambition and a jealousy of Scipio's rising glory. For he applied to Crassus, the colleague of Scipio, and endeavoured to persuade him not to yield that province to Scipio, but if he thought it proper to conduct the war in that manner, to go himself against Carthage. Nay, he even hindered the raising of money for that expedition: so that Scipio was obliged to find the supplies as he could: and he effected it through his interest with the cities of Hetruria, which were wholly devoted to him. As for Crassus, he stayed at home, partly induced to it by his disposition, which was mild and peaceful, and

partly by the care of religion, which was entrusted to him as high-priest.

Fabius, therefore, took another method to traverse the design. He endeavoured to prevent the young men who offered to go volunteers from giving in their names, and loudly declared, both in the senate and forum, "that Scipio did not only himself avoid Hannibal, but intended to carry away with him the remaining strength of Italy, persuading the young men to abandon their parents, their wives, and native city, whilst an unsubdued and potent enemy was still at their doors." With these assertions he so terrified the people, that they allowed Scipio to take with him only the legions that were in Sicily, and three hundred of those men who had served him with so much fidelity in Spain. In this particular Fabius seems to have followed the dictates of his own cautious temper.

After Scipio was gone over into Africa, an account was soon brought to Rome, of his glorious and wonderful achievements. This account was followed by rich spoils, which confirmed it. A Numidian king was taken prisoner; two camps were burned and destroyed, and in them a vast number of men, arms, and horses; and the Carthaginians sent orders to Hannibal to quit his fruitless hopes in Italy, and return home to defend his own country. Whilst every tongue was applauding these exploits of Scipio, Fabius proposed that his successor should be appointed, without any shadow or reason for it, except what this well-known maxim implies, viz., "that it is dangerous to trust affairs of such importance to the fortune of one man, because it is not likely that he will be always successful."

By this he offended the people, who now considered him as a captious and envious man; or as one whose courage

and hopes were lost in the dregs of years, and who therefore looked upon Hannibal as more formidable than he really was. Nay, even when Hannibal embarked his army and quitted Italy, Fabius ceased not to disturb the general joy and to damp the spirits of Rome. For he took the liberty to affirm, "that the commonwealth was now come to her last and worst trial; that she had the most reason to dread the efforts of Hannibal when he should arrive in Africa, and attack her sons under the walls of Carthage; that Scipio would have to do with an army yet warm with the blood of so many Roman generals, dictators, and consuls." The city was alarmed at these declamations, and though the war was removed into Africa, the danger seemed to approach nearer Rome than ever.

However, soon after, Scipio defeated Hannibal in a pitched battle, pulled down the pride of Carthage and trod it under foot. This afforded the Romans a pleasure beyond all their hopes, and restored a firmness to their empire, which had been shaken with so many tempests. But Fabius Maximus did not live to the end of the war, to hear of the overthrow of Hannibal, or to see the prosperity of his country re-established: for about the time that Hannibal left Italy, he fell sick and died. We are assured, that Epaminondas died so poor that the Thebans buried him at the public charge; for at his death nothing was found in his house but an iron spit. The expense of Fabius's funeral was not indeed defrayed out of the Roman treasury, but every citizen contributed a small piece of money towards it; not that he died without effects, but that they might bury him as the father of the people, and that the honours paid him at his death might be suitable to the dignity of his life.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

BORN B.C. 169—DIED 134.



HE was the son of Tiberius Gracchus, who, though he was once honoured with the censorship, twice with the consulate, and led up two triumphs, yet derived still greater dignity from his virtues. Hence, after the death of that Scipio who conquered Hannibal, he was thought worthy to marry Cornelia, the daughter of that great man, though he had not been upon any terms of friendship with him, but rather always at variance. It is said that he once caught a pair of serpents upon his bed, and that the soothsayers, after they had considered the prodigy, advised him neither to kill them both, nor let them both go. If he killed the male serpent, they told him his death would be the consequence; if the female, that of Cornelia. Tiberius, who loved his wife, and thought it more suitable for him to die first, who was much older than his wife, killed the male, and set the female at liberty. Not long after this, he died, leaving Cornelia with no fewer than twelve children.

The care of the house and the children now entirely devolved upon Cornelia; and she behaved with such sobriety, so much parental affection and greatness of mind, that Tiberius seemed not to have judged ill, in choosing to

die for so valuable a woman. For though Ptolemy, king of Egypt, paid his addresses to her, and offered her a share in his throne, she refused him. During her widowhood, she lost all her children except three, one daughter, who was married to Scipio the younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives we are now writing. Cornelia brought them up with so much care, that though they were without dispute of the noblest family, and had the happiest genius and disposition of all the Roman youth, yet education was allowed to have contributed more to their perfections than nature.

We shall begin with the eldest :—

Tiberius, as he grew towards manhood, gained so extraordinary a reputation, that he was admitted into the college of the augurs rather on account of his virtue than his high birth. Of the excellence of his character the following is also a proof: Appius Claudius, who had been honoured both with the consulate and censorship; whose merit had raised him to the rank of president of the senate, and who in sense and spirit was superior to all the Romans of his time, supping one evening with the augurs at a public entertainment, addressed himself to Tiberius with great kindness, and offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiberius accepted the proposal with pleasure; and the contract being agreed upon, Appius, when he went home, had no sooner entered the house, than he called out aloud to his wife, and said, “Antistia, I have contracted our daughter Claudia.” Antistia much surprised, answered, “Why so suddenly? What need of such haste, unless Tiberius Gracchus be the man you have pitched upon?”

The Tiberius of whom we are writing served in Africa under the younger Scipio, who had married his sister; and,

as he lived in the same tent with the general, he became immediately attentive to his genius and powers, which were daily productive of such actions as might animate a young man to virtue, and attract his imitation. With these advantages Tiberius soon excelled all of his age, both in point of discipline and valour. At a siege of one of the enemy's towns, he was the first that scaled the walls, as Fannius relates, who, according to his own account, mounted it with him, and had a share in the honour. In short, Tiberius, while he staid with the army, was greatly beloved, and as much regretted when he left it.

When the Romans in their wars made any acquisitions of lands from their neighbours, they used formerly to sell part, to add part to the public demesnes, and to distribute the rest among the necessitous citizens; only reserving a small rent to be paid into the treasury. But when the rich began to carry it with a high hand over the poor, and to exclude them entirely, if they did not pay exorbitant rents, a law was made that no man should be possessed of more than five hundred acres of land. This statute for awhile restrained the avarice of the rich, and helped the poor, who, by virtue of it, remained upon their lands at the old rents. But afterwards their wealthy neighbours took their farms from them, and held them in other names; though, in time, they scrupled not to claim them in their own. The poor thus expelled, neither gave in their names readily to the levies, nor attended to the education of their children. The consequence was, a want of freemen all over Italy; for it was filled with slaves and barbarians, who, after the poor Roman citizens were dispossessed, cultivated the ground for the rich. Caius Lælius, the friend of Scipio, attempted to correct this disorder; but finding a formidable opposition

from persons in power, and fearing the matter could not be decided without the sword, he gave it up. This gained him the name of Lælius "the wise." But Tiberius was no sooner appointed tribune of the people, than he embarked in the same enterprise. He was put upon it, according to most authors, by Diophanes the rhetorician, and Blossius the philosopher; the former of whom was a Mitylenian exile, the latter a native of Cumæ in Italy, and a particular friend of Antipater of Tarsus, with whom he became acquainted at Rome, and who did him the honour to address some of his philosophical writings to him.

Some blame his mother Cornelia, who used to reproach her sons, that she was still called the mother-in-law of Scipio, not the mother of the Gracchi. But his brother Caius writes, that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and found the country almost depopulated, there being scarce any husbandmen or shepherds, except slaves from foreign and barbarous nations, he then first formed the project which plunged them into so many misfortunes. It is certain, however, that the people inflamed his spirit of enterprise and ambition, by putting up writings on the porticoes, walls, and monuments, in which they begged of him to restore their share of the public lands to the poor.

Yet he did not frame the law without consulting some of the Romans that were most distinguished for their virtue and authority. Among these were Crassus, the chief pontiff, Mutius Scævola, the lawyer, who at that time was also consul, and Appius Claudius, father-in-law to Tiberius. There never was a milder law made against so much injustice and oppression. For they who deserved to have been punished for their infringement on the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to have a

consideration for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the estates to such of the citizens as were to be relieved. But though the reformation was conducted with so much tenderness, the people were satisfied: they were willing to overlook what was passed, on condition that they might guard against future usurpations.

On the other hand, persons of great property opposed the law out of avarice, and the lawgiver out of a spirit of resentment and malignity; endeavouring to prejudice the people against the design, as if Tiberius intended by the Agrarian law to throw all into disorder, and subvert the constitution. But their attempts were vain. For, in this just and glorious cause, Tiberius exerted an eloquence which might have adorned a worse subject, and which nothing could resist. How great was he, when the people were gathered about the rostrum, and he pleaded for the poor in such language as this:—"The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to; but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods: for, among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession."

Such speeches as this, delivered by a man of such spirit, and flowing from a heart really interested in the cause,

filled the people with an enthusiastic fury ; and none of his adversaries durst pretend to answer him. Forbearing, therefore, the war of words, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes, a grave and modest young man, and an intimate acquaintance of Tiberius. Out of reverence for his friend, he declined the task at first ; but upon a number of applications from men of the first rank, he was prevailed upon to oppose Tiberius, and prevent the passing of the law : for the tribunes' power chiefly lies in the negative voice, and if one of them stands out, the rest can effect nothing.

Incensed by this behaviour, Tiberius dropped his moderate bill, and proposed another more agreeable to the commonalty, and more severe against the usurpers. For by this they were commanded immediately to quit the lands which they held contrary to former laws. On this subject there were daily disputes between him and Octavius on the rostra ; yet not one abusive or disparaging word is said to have escaped either of them in all the heat of speaking. Indeed, an ingenuous disposition and liberal education will prevent or restrain the sallies of passion, not only during the free enjoyment of the bottle, but in the ardour of contention about points of a superior nature.

Tiberius, observing that Octavius was liable to suffer by the bill, as having more land than the laws could warrant, desired him to give up his opposition, and offered, at the same time, to indemnify him out of his own fortune, though that was not great. As this proposal was not accepted, Tiberius forbade all other magistrates to exercise their functions till the Agrarian law was passed. He likewise put his own seal upon the doors of the temple of Saturn, that the quæstors might neither bring anything into the

treasury, nor take anything out. And he threatened to fine such of the prætors as should attempt to disobey his command. This struck such a terror that all departments of government were at a stand. Persons of great property put themselves into mourning, and appeared in public with all the circumstances that they thought might excite compassion. Not satisfied with this, they conspired the death of Tiberius, and suborned assassins to destroy him: for which reason he appeared with a tuck, such as is used by robbers, which the Romans call a "dolon."

When the day appointed came, and Tiberius was summoning the people to give their suffrages, a party of the people of property carried off the balloting vessels, which occasioned great confusion. Tiberius, however, seemed strong enough to carry his point by force, and his partizans were preparing to have recourse to it, when Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell at Tiberius's feet, bathed his hands with tears, and conjured him not to put his purpose into execution. He now perceived how dreadful the consequences of his attempt might be, and his reverence for those two great men had its effect upon him: he therefore asked them what they would have him do. They said, they were not capable of advising him in so important an affair, and earnestly entreated him to refer it to the senate. The senate assembled to deliberate upon it, but the influence of the people of fortune on that body was such, that the debates ended in nothing.

Tiberius then adopted a measure that was neither just nor moderate. He resolved to remove Octavius from the tribuneship, because there was no other means to get his law passed. He addressed him indeed in public first, in a mild and friendly manner, and taking him by the hand,

conjured him to gratify the people, who asked nothing that was unjust, and would only receive a small recompense for the great labours and dangers they had experienced. But Octavius absolutely refused to comply. Tiberius then declared, "that as it was not possible for two magistrates of equal authority, when they differed in such capital points, to go through the remainder of their office without coming to hostilities, he saw no other remedy but the deposing of them." He therefore desired Octavius to take the sense of the people first with respect to him; assuring him that he would immediately return to a private station, if the suffrages of his fellow-citizens should order it so. As Octavius rejected this proposal too, Tiberius told him plainly, that he would put the question to the people concerning him, if upon farther consideration he did not alter his mind.

Upon this he dismissed the assembly. Next day he convoked it again; and when he had mounted the rostra, he made another trial to bring Octavius to compliance. But finding him inflexible, he proposed a decree for depriving him of the tribuneship, and immediately put it to the vote. When, of the five-and-thirty tribes, seventeen had given their voices for it, and there wanted only one more to make Octavius a private man, Tiberius ordered them to stop, and once more applied to his colleague. He embraced him with great tenderness in the sight of the people, and with the most pressing instances besought him, neither to bring such a mark of infamy upon himself, nor expose him to the disreputation of being promoter of such severe and violent measures. It was not without emotion that Octavius is said to have listened to these entreaties. His eyes were filled with tears, and he stood a long time silent. But when he looked towards the persons of property, who were as



“Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to pull down Octavius from the tribunal.”—OLD WORLD WORTHIES, Page 215

sembled in a body, shame and fear of losing himself in their opinion brought him back to his resolution to run all risks, and, with a noble firmness, he bade Tiberius do his pleasure. The bill, therefore, was passed ; and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to pull down Octavius from the tribunal ; for he employed his own freedmen as lictors. This ignominious manner of expulsion made the case of Octavius more pitiable. The people, notwithstanding, fell upon him ; but by the assistance of those of the landed interest, who came to his defence, and kept off the mob, he escaped with his life. However, a faithful servant of his, who stood before him to ward off the danger, had his eyes torn out. This violence was much against the will of Tiberius, who no sooner saw the tumult rising, than he hastened down to appease it.

The Agrarian law then was confirmed, and three commissioners appointed to take a survey of the lands, and see them properly distributed. Tiberius was one of the three : his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, another ; and his brother, Caius Gracchus, the third. The latter was then making the campaign under Scipio at Numantia. Tiberius having carried these points without opposition, next filled up the vacant tribune's seat ; into which he did not put a man of any note, but Mutius, one of his own clients. These proceedings exasperated the patricians extremely, and as they dreaded the increase of his power, they took every opportunity to insult him in the senate. When he desired, for instance, what was nothing more than customary, a tent at the public charge, for his use in dividing the lands, they refused him one, though such things had been often granted on much less important occasions. And, at the motion of Publius Nasica, he had only nine oboli a day allowed for

his expenses. Nasica, indeed, was become his avowed enemy, for he had a great estate in the public lands, and was, of course, unwilling to be stripped of it.

About this time died Attalus Philopator ; and Eudemus of Pergamus brought his will to Rome, by which it appeared that he had left the Roman people his heirs. Tiberius, endeavouring to avail himself of this incident, immediately proposed a law, "that all the ready money the king had left should be distributed among the citizens, to enable them to provide working tools, and proceed in the cultivation of their newly-assigned lands." As to the cities, too, in the territories of Attalus, the senate, he said, had not a right to dispose of them, but the people, and he would refer the business entirely to their judgment.

This embroiled him still more with the senate ; and one of their body, of the name of Pompey, stood up and said, "He was next neighbour to Tiberius, and by that means had opportunity to know that Eudemus the Pergamenian had brought him a royal diadem and purple robe for his use when he was king of Rome." Quintus Metellus said another severe thing against him. "During the censorship of your father, whenever he returned home after supper, the citizens put out their lights, that they might not appear to indulge themselves at unseasonable hours ; but you, at a late hour, have some of the meanest and most audacious of the people about you with torches in their hands." And Titus Annius, a man of no character in point of morals, but an acute disputant, and remarkable for the subtlety both of his questions and answers, one day challenged Tiberius, and offered to prove him guilty of a great offence in deposing one of his colleagues, whose person by the laws was sacred and inviolable. This proposition raised a tumult in the audience,

and Tiberius immediately went out and called an assembly of the people, designing to accuse Annius of the indignity he had offered him. Annius appeared ; and knowing himself greatly inferior both in eloquence and reputation, he had recourse to his old art, and begged leave only to ask him a question before the business came on. Tiberius consented, and silence being made, Annius said, "Would you fix a mark of disgrace and infamy upon me, if I should appeal to one of your colleagues? And if he came to my assistance, would you in your anger deprive him of his office?" It is said, that this question so puzzled Tiberius, that with all his readiness of speech and propriety of assurance, he made no manner of answer.

He therefore dismissed the assembly for the present. He perceived, however, that the step he had taken in deposing a tribune had offended not only the patricians but the people too ; for by such a precedent he appeared to have robbed that high office of its dignity, which till then had been preserved in great security and honour. In consequence of this reflection, he called the commons together again, and made a speech to them, from which it may not be amiss to give an extract, by way of specimen of the power and strength of his eloquence :—"The person of a tribune, I acknowledge, is sacred and inviolable, because he is consecrated to the people, and takes their interests under his protection. But when he deserts those interests, and becomes an oppressor of the people, when he retrenches their privileges, and takes away their liberty of voting, by those acts he deprives himself, for he no longer keeps to the intention of his employment. Otherwise, if a tribune should demolish the Capitol, and burn the docks and naval stores, his person could not be touched. A man who should do

such things as those might still be a tribune, though a vile one; but he who diminishes the privileges of the people ceases to be a tribune of the people. Does it not shock you to think that a tribune should be able to imprison a consul, and the people not have it in their power to deprive a tribune of his authority, when he uses it against those who gave it? For the tribunes, as well as the consuls, are elected by the people. Kingly government seems to comprehend all authority in itself, and kings are consecrated with the most awful ceremonies; yet the citizens expelled Tarquin when his administration became iniquitous; and, for the offence of one man, the ancient government, under whose auspices Rome was erected, was entirely abolished. What is there in Rome so sacred and venerable as the vestal virgins who keep the perpetual fire? Yet if any of them transgresses the rules of her order, she is buried alive. For they who are guilty of impiety against the gods lose that sacred character which they had only for the sake of the gods. So a tribune who injures the people can be no longer sacred and inviolable on the people's account. He destroys that power in which alone his strength lay. If it is just for him to be invested with the tribunitial authority by a majority of tribes, is it not more just for him to be deposed by the suffrages of them all? What is more sacred and inviolable than the offerings in the temples of the gods? yet none pretends to hinder the people from making use of them, or removing them wherever they please. And, indeed, that the tribune's office is not inviolable or unremoveable, appears from hence, that several have voluntarily laid it down, or been discharged at their own request." These were the heads of Tiberius's defence.

His friends, however, being sensible of the menaces of his

enemies, and the combination to destroy him, were of opinion that he ought to make interest to get the tribuneship continued to him another year. For this purpose he thought of other laws, to secure the commonalty on his side ; that for shortening the time of military service, and that for granting an appeal from the judges to the people. The bench of judges at that time consisted of senators only, but he ordered an equal number of knights and senators ; though it must be confessed, that his taking every possible method to reduce the power of the patricians savoured more of obstinacy and resentment, than of a regard for justice and the public good.

When the day came for it to be put to the vote whether these laws should be ratified, Tiberius and his party, perceiving that their adversaries were the strongest, (for all the people did not attend,) spun out the time in altercations with the other tribunes ; and at last he adjourned the assembly to the day following. In the meantime he entered the forum with all the ensigns of distress, and, with tears in his eyes, humbly applied to the citizens, assuring them “ He was afraid that his enemies would demolish his house, and take his life before the next morning.” This affected them so much, that numbers erected tents before his door, and guarded him all night.

At daybreak, several messengers from his friends in the Capitol came and desired him to make haste, for (they told him) everything went there according to his wish.

At first, indeed, there was a most promising appearance. When the assembly saw him at a distance, they expressed their joy in the loudest acclamations ; on his approach they received him with the utmost cordiality, and formed a circle about him to keep all strangers off. Mutius then began to

call over the tribes, in order to business ; but nothing could be done in the usual form, by reason of the disturbance made by the populace, who were still pressing forward. Meantime Fulvius Flaccus, a senator, got upon an eminence, and, knowing he could not be heard, made a sign with his hand that he had something to say to Tiberius in private. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus with much difficulty got to him, and informed him, "that those of the landed interest had applied to the consul, while the senate was sitting, and, as they could not bring that magistrate into their views, they had resolved to dispatch Tiberius themselves, and for that purpose had armed a number of their friends and slaves.

Tiberius no sooner communicated this intelligence to those about him, than they tucked up their gowns, seized the halberts with which the serjeants kept off the crowd, broke them, and took the pieces to ward against any assault that might be made. Such as were at a distance, much surprised at this incident, asked what the reason might be ; and Tiberius finding they could not hear him, touched his head with his hand, to signify the danger he was in. His adversaries, seeing this, ran to the senate, and informed them that Tiberius demanded the diadem ; alleging that gesture as a proof of it.

This raised a great commotion. Nasica called upon the consul to defend the commonwealth, and destroy the tyrant. The consul mildly answered, "That he would not begin to use violence, nor would he put any citizen to death who was not legally condemned ; but, if Tiberius should either persuade or force the people to decree anything contrary to the constitution, he would take care to annul it." Upon which, Nasica started up, and said, "Since the consul gives

up his country, let all who choose to support the laws follow me." So saying, he covered his head with the skirt of his robe, and then advanced to the Capitol. Those who followed him wrapped each his gown about his hand, and made their way through the crowd. Indeed, on account of their superior quality, they met with no resistance ; on the contrary, the people trampled on one another to get out of their way. Their attendants had brought clubs and bludgeons with them from home, and the patricians themselves seized the feet of the benches which the populace had broken in their flight. Thus armed, they made towards Tiberius, knocking down such as stood before him. These being killed or dispersed, Tiberius likewise fled. One of his enemies laid hold on his gown ; but he let it go, and continued his flight in his under garment. He happened, however, to stumble and fall upon some of the killed. As he was recovering himself, Publius Satureius, one of his colleagues, came up openly, and struck him on the head with the foot of a stool. The second blow was given him by Lucius Rufus, who afterwards valued himself upon it as a glorious exploit. Above three hundred more lost their lives by clubs and stones, but not a man by the sword. This is said to have been the first sedition in Rome, since the expulsion of the kings, in which the blood of any citizen was shed.

The senate, now desirous to reconcile the people to these acts of theirs, no longer opposed the Agrarian law.

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

BORN B.C. 159—DIED 121.



WHETHER it was that Caius Gracchus was afraid of his enemies, or wanted to make them more obnoxious to the people, at first he left the forum, and kept close in his own house; like one who was either sensible how much his family was reduced, or who intended to make public business no more his object. Insomuch that some scrupled not to affirm that he disapproved and even detested his brother's administration. He was, indeed, as yet very young, not being so old as Tiberius by nine years; and Tiberius at his death was not quite thirty. However, in a short time it appeared that he had an aversion, not only to idleness and effeminacy, but to intemperance and avarice. And he improved his powers of oratory, as if he considered them as the wings on which he must rise to the great offices of state. These circumstances shewed that he would not long continue inactive.

In the defence of one of his friends named Vettius, he exerted so much eloquence, that the people were charmed beyond expression, and borne away with all the transports of enthusiasm. On this occasion he shewed that other orators were no more than children in comparison. The nobility had all their former apprehensions renewed, and

they began to take measures among themselves to prevent the advancement of Caius to the tribunitial power.

It is a common opinion, that of his own accord he became a violent demagogue, and that he was much more studious than Tiberius to make himself popular. But that is not the truth. On the contrary, it seems to have been rather necessity than choice that brought him upon the public stage. For Cicero the orator relates, that when Caius avoided all offices in the state, and had taken a resolution to live quiet, his brother appeared to him in a dream, and thus addressed him, "Why lingerest thou, Caius? There is no alternative. The fates have decreed us both the same pursuit of life, and the same death, in vindicating the rights of the people."

After this he offered himself to the people as a candidate for the tribuneship. The patricians united their forces to oppose him; but such a number of people came in from all parts of Italy to support his election, that many of them could not get lodging, and, the Campus Martius not being large enough to contain them, gave their voices from the tops of houses.

All that the nobility could gain of the people, and all the mortification that Caius had, was this: instead of being returned first, as he had flattered himself he should be, he was returned the fourth. But when he had entered upon his office, he soon became the leading tribune, partly by means of his eloquence, in which he was greatly superior to the rest, and partly on account of the misfortunes of his family, which gave him an opportunity to bewail the cruel fate of his brother. For whatever subject he began upon, before he had done he led the people back to that idea, and at the same time put them in mind of the different behaviour of

their ancestors. "Your forefathers," said he, "declared war against the Falisci, in order to revenge the cause of Genucius, one of the tribunes, to whom that people had given scurrilous language ; and they thought capital punishment little enough for Caius Veturius, because he alone did not break way for a tribune who was passing through the forum. But you suffered Tiberius to be dispatched with bludgeons before your eyes, and his dead body to be dragged from the Capitol through the middle of the city, in order to be thrown into the river. Such of his friends, too, as fell into their hands, were put to death without form of trial. Yet, by the custom of our country, if any person under a prosecution for a capital crime did not appear, an officer was sent to his door in the morning, to summon him by sound of trumpet, and the judges would never pass sentence before so public a citation,—so tender were our ancestors in any matter where the life of a citizen was concerned."

Having prepared the people by such speeches as this, (for his voice was strong enough to be heard by so great a multitude,) he proposed two laws. One was, "that if the people deposed any magistrate, he should from that time be incapable of bearing any public office ;" the other, "that if any magistrate should banish a citizen without a legal trial, the people should be authorised to take cognisance of that offence." The first of these laws plainly referred to Marcus Octavius, whom Tiberius had deprived of the tribuneship ; and the second to Popilius, who, in his prætorship, had banished the friends of Tiberius. In consequence of the latter, Popilius, afraid to stand a trial, fled out of Italy. The other bill Caius dropped, to oblige, as he said, his mother Cornelia, who interposed in behalf of Octavius. The people were perfectly satisfied ; for they honoured

Cornelia, not only on account of her children, but of her father. They afterwards erected a statue to her with this inscription :—"Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi."

Among the laws which he procured, to increase the authority of the people, and lessen that of the senate, one related to colonising, and dividing the public lands among the poor. Another was in favour of the army, who were now to be clothed at the public charge, without diminution of their pay, and none were to serve till they were full seventeen years old. A third was for the benefit of the Italian allies, who were to have the same right of voting at elections as the citizens of Rome. By a fourth the markets were regulated, and the poor enabled to buy bread-corn at a cheaper rate. A fifth related to the courts of judicature, and indeed contributed more than anything to retrench the power of the senate ; for, before this, senators only were judges in all causes, and on that account their body was formidable both to the equestrian order and to the people. But now he added three hundred knights to the three hundred senators, and decreed that a judicial authority should be equally invested in the six hundred. In offering this bill, he exerted himself greatly in all respects, but there was one thing very remarkable : whereas the orators before him, in all addresses to the people, stood with their faces towards the senate-house and the comitium, he then, for the first time, turned the other way, that is to say, towards the forum, and continued to speak in that position ever after. Thus by a small alteration in the posture of his body, he indicated something very great, and, as it were, turned the government from an aristocracy into a democratic form : for, by this action, he intimated, that all orators ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

As the people not only ratified this law, but empowered him to select the three hundred out of the equestrian order for judges, he found himself in a manner possessed of sovereign power. Even the senate in their deliberations were willing to listen to his advice ; and he never gave them any that was not suitable to their dignity. That wise and moderate decree, for instance, was of his suggesting, concerning the corn which Fabius, when proprætor in Spain, sent from that country. Caius persuaded the senate to sell the corn, and send the money to the Spanish states ; and at the same time to censure Fabius for rendering the Roman government odious and insupportable to the people of that country. This gained him great respect and favour in the provinces.

He procured other decrees for sending out colonies, for making roads, and for building public granaries. In all these matters he was appointed supreme director, and yet was far from thinking so much business a fatigue.

The people extolled his performances, and there was no instance of their affection that he might not have expected. In one of his speeches he told them, “there was one thing in particular which he should esteem as a greater favour than all the rest, if they indulged him in it, and if they denied it he would not complain.” By this it was imagined that he meant the consulship ; and the commons expected that he would desire to be consul and tribune at the same time. When the day of election of consuls came, and all were waiting with anxiety to see what declaration he would make, he conducted Caius Fannius into the Campus Martius, and joined with his friends in the canvass. This greatly inclined the scale on Fannius’s side, and he was immediately created consul. Caius, too, without the least

application, or even declaring himself a candidate, merely through the zeal and affection of the people, was appointed tribune the second time.

Finding, however, that the senate avowed their aversion to him, and that the regards of Fannius grew cold, he thought of new laws which might secure the people in his interest. Such were those for sending colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and for granting the Latins all the rights and privileges of citizens of Rome. The senate now apprehending that his power would soon become entirely uncontrollable, took a new and unheard-of method to draw the people from him, by gratifying them in everything, however contrary to the true interests of the state.

Among the colleagues of Caius Gracchus there was one named Livius Drusus ; a man who in birth and education was not behind any of the Romans, and who in point of eloquence and wealth might vie with the greatest and most powerful men of his time. To him the nobility applied, exhorting him to set himself up against Caius, and join them in opposing him ; not in the way of force, or in anything that might offend the commons, but in directing all his measures to please them, and granting them things which it would have been an honour to refuse at the hazard of their utmost resentment.

Drusus agreed to list in the service of the senate, and to apply all the power of his office to their views. He, therefore, proposed laws which had nothing in them either honourable or advantageous to the community. His sole view was to outdo Caius in flattering and pleasing the multitude, and for this purpose he contended with him like a comedian upon a stage.

Drusus, in all his edicts, appeared not to have the least

view to his own interest ; for he employed others as commissioners for planting the new colonies ; and if there was an affair of money, he would have no concern with it himself ; whereas Caius chose to preside in the greatest and most important matters of that kind. Rubrius, one of his colleagues, having procured an order for rebuilding and colonising Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, it fell to the lot of Caius to execute that commission, and in pursuance thereof he sailed to Africa. Drusus took advantage of his absence to gain more ground upon him, and to establish himself in the favour of the people.

At his return, Caius removed his lodgings from the Palatine Mount to the neighbourhood of the forum, in which he had a view to popularity ; for many of the meanest and indigent of the commonalty dwelt there. After this he proposed the rest of his laws, in order to their being ratified by the suffrages of the people. As the populace came to him from all quarters, the senate persuaded the consul Fannius, to command all persons to depart the city who were not Romans by birth. Upon this strange and unusual proclamation, that none of the allies or friends of the republic should remain in Rome, or, though citizens, be permitted to vote, Caius, in his turn, published articles of impeachment against the consul, and at the same time declared he would protect the allies, if they would stay. He did not, however, perform his promise ; on the contrary, he suffered the consul's lictors to take away a person before his eyes, who was connected with him by the ties of hospitality, without giving him the least assistance : whether it was that he feared to shew how much his strength was diminished, or whether (as he alleged) he did not choose to

give his enemies occasion to have recourse to the sword, who only sought a pretence for it.

He happened, moreover, to be at variance with his colleagues. The reason was this: there was a show of gladiators to be exhibited to the people in the forum, and most of the magistrates had caused scaffolds to be erected around the place, in order to let them out for hire. Caius insisted that they should be taken down, that the poor might see the exhibition without paying for it. As none of the proprietors regarded his orders, he waited till the night preceding the show, and then went with his own workmen, and demolished the scaffolds. Next day the populace saw the place quite clear of them, and of course they admired him as a man of superior spirit. But his colleagues were greatly offended at his violent temper and measures. This seems to have been the cause of his miscarriage in his application for a third tribuneship; for, it seems, he had a majority of voices, but his colleagues are said to have procured a fraudulent and unjust return. Be that as it may (for it was a matter of some doubt,) it is certain that he did not bear his disappointment with patience: but when he saw his adversaries laugh, he told them with too much insolence, "their laugh was of the Sardonic kind, for they did not perceive how much their actions were eclipsed by his."

After Opimius was elected consul, he prepared to repeal many of Caius's laws, and to annul his establishment at Carthage, on purpose to provoke him to some act of violence, and to gain an opportunity to destroy him. He bore this treatment for some time; but afterwards, at the instigation of his friends, and of Fulvius in particular, he began to raise an opposition once more against the consul. Some say, his mother on this occasion entered into the intrigues

of the party, and having privately taken some strangers into pay, sent them into Rome in the disguise of reapers ; and they assert that these things are enigmatically hinted at in her letters to her son. But others say, Cornelia was much displeased at these measures.

When the day came on which Opimius was to get those laws repealed, both parties early in the morning posted themselves in the Capitol ; and after the consul had sacrificed, Quintus Antyllius, one of his lictors, who was carrying out the entrails of the victims, said to Fulvius and his friends, "Stand off, ye factious citizens, and make way for honest men." Some add that, along with this scurrilous language, he stretched his naked arm towards them in a form that expressed the utmost contempt. They immediately killed Antyllius with long styles, said to have been made for such a purpose.

The people were much chagrined at this act of violence. As for the two chiefs, they made very different reflections upon the event. Caius was concerned at it, and reproached his partizans with having given their enemies the handle they long had wanted. Opimius rejoiced at the opportunity, and excited the people to revenge. But for the present they were parted by a heavy rain.

At an early hour next day, the consul assembled the senate, and while he was addressing them within, others exposed the corpse of Antyllius naked on a bier without, and, as it had been previously concerted, carried it through the forum to the senate house, making loud acclamations all the way. Opimius knew the whole farce ; but pretended to be much surprised. The senate went out, and planting themselves about the corpse, expressed their grief and indignation, as if some dreadful misfortune had befallen

them. This scene, however, excited only hatred and detestation in the breasts of the people, who could not but remember that the nobility had killed Tiberius Gracchus in the Capitol, though a tribune, and thrown his body into the river ; and yet now, when Antyllus, a vile serjeant, who possibly did not deserve quite so severe a punishment, but by his impertinence had brought it upon himself,—when such a hireling lay exposed in the forum, the senate of Rome stood weeping about him, and then attended the wretch to his funeral, with no other view than to procure the death of the only remaining protector of the people.

On their return to the house, they charged Opimius the consul, by a formal decree, to take every possible method for the preservation of the commonwealth, and the destruction of the tyrants. He therefore ordered the patricians to arms, and each of the knights to attend with two servants well armed the next morning. Fulvius, on the other hand, prepared himself, and drew together a crowd of people.

Caius, as he returned from the forum, stood a long time looking upon his father's statue, and after having given vent to his sorrow in some sighs and tears, retired without uttering a word. Many of the plebeians, who saw this, were moved with compassion ; and, declaring they should be the most dastardly of beings if they abandoned such a man to his enemies, repaired to his house to guard him, and passed the night before his door. This they did in a very different manner from the people who attended Fulvius on the same occasion. These passed their time in noise and riot, in carousing and empty threats ; Fulvius himself being the first man that was intoxicated, and giving in to many expressions and actions unsuitable to his years. But those

about Caius were silent, as in a time of public calamity ; and, with a thoughtful regard to what was yet to come, they kept watch and took rest by turns.

Fulvius slept so sound after his wine, that it was with difficulty they awoke him at break of day. Then he and his company armed themselves with the Gallic spoils which he had brought off in his consulship, upon his conquering that people ; and thus accoutred they sallied out, with loud menaces, to seize the Aventine hill. As for Caius, he would not arm, but went out in his gown, as if he had been going upon business in the forum ; only he had a small dagger under it.

At the gate, his wife threw herself at his feet, and taking hold of him with one hand, and of her son with the other, she thus expressed herself :—"You do not now leave me, my dear Caius, as formerly, to go to the rostra, in capacity of tribune or lawgiver, nor do I send you out to a glorious war, where, if the common lot fell to your share, my distress might at least have the consolation of honour. You expose yourself to the murderers of Tiberius, unarmed, indeed, as a man should go who had rather suffer than commit any violence ; but it is throwing away your life without any advantage to the community. Faction reigns ; outrage and the sword are the only measures of justice. Had your brother fallen before Numantia, the truce would have restored us his body ; but now perhaps I shall have to go a suppliant to some river or the sea, to be shewn where your remains may be found. For what confidence can we have either in the laws or in the gods after the assassination of Tiberius ?"

When Licinia had poured out these lamentations, Caius disengaged himself as quietly as he could from her arms,

and walked on with his friends in deep silence. She caught at his gown ; but in the attempt fell to the ground, and lay a long time speechless. At last, her servants seeing her in that condition, took her up, and carried her to her brother Crassus.

Fulvius, when all the party was assembled, listened to the advice of Caius, and sent his younger son into the forum, equipped like an herald. He was a youth of most engaging appearance, and he approached with great modesty, and tears in his eyes, to propose terms of accommodation to the consul and the senate. Many were disposed to hearken to the proposal: but Opimius said, "The criminals ought not to treat by heralds, but come in person to make their submission to the senate, and surrender themselves to justice, before they interceded for mercy." At the same time, he bade the young man return with an account that these conditions were complied with, or not return at all.

Caius was of opinion that they should go and endeavour to reconcile themselves to the senate. But as none of the rest acceded to that opinion, Fulvius sent his son again with propositions much the same. Opimius, who was in haste to begin hostilities, immediately took the young man into custody, and marched against Fulvius with a numerous body of infantry, and a company of Cretan archers. The latter galled their adversaries much, and put them in such confusion that they took to flight. Fulvius hid himself in an old neglected bath, where he was soon found and put to the sword, together with his eldest son. Caius was not seen to lift his hand in the fray. On the contrary, he expressed the greatest uneasiness at their coming to such extremities, and retired into the temple of Diana. There

he would have dispatched himself, but was hindered by Pomponius and Licinius, the most faithful of his friends, who took away his poniard, and persuaded him to try the alternative of flight. On this occasion he is said to have kneeled down, and with uplifted hands to have prayed to the deity of that temple, "that the people of Rome, for their ingratitude and base desertion of him, might be slaves for ever." Indeed, most of them, on promise of impunity by proclamation, openly went over to the other party.

The enemy pursued Caius with great eagerness, and came up with him at the wooden bridge. His two friends bidding him go forward, planted themselves before it, and suffered no man to pass till they were overpowered and slain. One of his servants, named Philocrates, accompanied Caius in his flight. All encouraged him to make the best of his way, as they do a runner in the lists, but not one assisted him, or offered him a horse, though he desired it, for they saw the enemy now almost upon him. He got, however, a little before them, into a grove sacred to the Furies, and there closed the scene; Philocrates first dispatched him, and afterwards himself. Some, indeed, say, that they both came alive into the enemy's hands, and that the slave clung so close to his master that they could not come to the one till they had cut the other in pieces. We are told also, that after a person, whose name is not mentioned, had cut off the head of Caius, and was bearing away his prize, Septimuleius, one of Opimius's friends, took it from him: for at the beginning of the action, the weight in gold had been offered by proclamation either for his head, or for that of Fulvius. Septimuleius carried it to Opimius upon the point of a pike: and when put in the

scale, it was found to weigh seventeen pounds eight ounces: for Septimuleius had added fraud to his other villanies; he had taken out the brain, and filled the cavity with molten lead. Those who brought in the head of Fulvius, being persons of no note, had no reward at all.

The bodies of Caius and Fulvius, and the rest of the slain, who were no fewer than three thousand, were thrown into the river. Their goods were confiscated and sold, and their wives forbidden to go into mourning. Licinia was, moreover, deprived of her dowry. The most savage cruelty was exercised upon the younger son of Fulvius, who had never borne arms against them, nor appeared among the combatants, but was imprisoned when he came with proposals of peace, and put to death after the battle. But neither this, nor any other instance of despotism, so sensibly touched the people, as Opimius's building a temple to "Concord." For by that he appeared to claim honour for what he had done, and in some sort to triumph in the destruction of so many citizens. Somebody, therefore, in the night, wrote this line under the inscription on the temple:—

"Madness and Discord rear the fane of Concord."

Opimius was the first consul who usurped the power of a dictator, and condemned three thousand citizens, without any form of justice, beside Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus; though one of them had been honoured with the consulship and a triumph, and the other, both in virtue and reputation, was superior to all the men of his time.

Opimius was vile enough to suffer himself to be corrupted with money. Going afterwards ambassador to

Jugurtha the Numidian, he took a bribe ; and being called to account for it at his return, in a judicial way, he had the mortification to grow old with that infamy upon him. At the same time, he was hated and execrated by the commons, who through his means had been reduced to an abject condition. In a little time those commons shewed how deeply they regretted the Gracchi. They erected their statues in one of the most public parts of the city ; they consecrated the places where they were killed, and offered to them all first-fruits according to the season of the year. Nay, many offered daily sacrifices, and paid their devotions there as in the temples of gods.

Cornelia is reported to have borne all these misfortunes with a noble magnanimity, and to have said of the consecrated places in particular, where her sons lost their lives, "that they were monuments worthy of them." She took up her residence at Misenum, and made no alteration in her manner of living. As she had many friends, her table was always open for the purposes of hospitality. Greeks and other men of letters she had always with her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome expressed their regard by sending her presents, and receiving the like civilities in return. She made herself very agreeable to her guests by acquainting them with many particulars of her father Africanus, and of his manner of living. But what they most admired in her was, that she could speak of her sons without a sigh or a tear, and recount their actions and sufferings, as if she had been giving a narrative of some ancient heroes. Some, therefore, imagined that age and the greatness of her misfortunes had deprived her of her understanding and sensibility. But those who were of that opinion seem rather to have wanted understanding themselves ;

since they knew not how much a noble mind may, by a liberal education, be enabled to support itself against distress ; and that, though in the pursuit of rectitude, Fortune may often defeat the purposes of Virtue, yet Virtue, in bearing affliction, can never lose her prerogative.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

BORN B.C. 100—DIED 44.



WHEN Sylla had made himself master of Rome, he endeavoured to bring Cæsar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter to Cinna, one of the late tyrants; and finding he could not effect it either by hopes or fears, he confiscated her dowry. Indeed, Cæsar, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæsar's aunt, and therefore young Marius, the son he had by her, was Cæsar's cousin-german. At first Sylla, amidst the vast number of proscriptions that engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy; but Cæsar, not content with escaping so, presented himself to the people as a candidate for the priesthood, though he was not yet come to years of maturity. Sylla exerted his influence against him, and he miscarried. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off, and when some said there was no need to put such a boy to death, he answered, "their sagacity was small, if they did not in that boy see many Marius's."

This saying being reported to Cæsar, he concealed himself a long time, wandering up and down in the country of the Sabines. Amidst his movements from house to house he fell sick, and on that account was forced to be

carried in a litter. The soldiers employed by Sylla to search those parts, and drag the proscribed persons from their retreats, one night fell in with him ; but Cornelius, who commanded there, was prevailed on by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

He then hastened to sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he sought protection of Nicomedes the king. His stay, however, with him was not long. He re-embarked, and was taken near the isle of Pharmacusa, by pirates, who were masters of that sea, and blocked up all the passages with a number of galleys and other vessels. They asked him only twenty talents for his ransom. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing him, and promised them fifty talents. To raise the money, he dispatched his people to different cities, and in the meantime remained with only one friend and two attendants among these Cilicians, who considered murder as a trifle. Cæsar, however, held them in great contempt, and used to send, whenever he went to sleep, and order them to keep silence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearless and secure, he joined in their diversions, and took his exercises among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them to these pirates ; and when they expressed no admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians. Nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with these freedoms, which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as soon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus, in order to attack these corsairs. He found them still lying at anchor by the island, took most of them, together with the money, and imprisoned

them at Pergamus. After which, he applied to Junius, who then commanded in Asia, because to him, as prætor, it belonged to punish them. Junius having an eye upon the money, which was a considerable sum, demurred about the matter; and Cæsar, perceiving his intention, returned to Pergamus, and crucified all the prisoners, as he had often threatened to do at Pharmacusa, when they took him to be in jest.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon the decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome.

Cicero seems to be the first who suspected something formidable from the flattering calm of Cæsar's political conduct, and saw deep and dangerous designs under the smiles of his benignity. "I perceive," said the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in all he projects and executes; but on the other hand, when I see him adjusting his hair with so much exactness, and scratching his head with one finger, I can hardly think that such a man can conceive so vast and fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth." This, however, was an observation made at a much later period than that we are upon.

There were two factions in the state; that of Sylla, which was the strongest; and that of Marius, which was in a broken and low condition. Cæsar's study was to raise and revive the latter,—in pursuance of which intention, when his exhibitions, as ædile, were in the highest reputation, he caused new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a representation of his victories, adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the Capitol. Next morning these figures were seen glistening with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, and bearing inscriptions which declared them the achievements of Marius against the Cimbri. The

spectators were astonished at the boldness of the man who erected them ; nor was it difficult to know who he was. The report spread with the utmost rapidity, and the whole city assembled to see them. Some exclaimed, that Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours which the laws had condemned to darkness and oblivion. This, they said, was done to make a trial of the people, whom he had prepared by his caresses, whether they would suffer themselves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them and make what innovations he pleased. On the other hand, the partizans of Marius, encouraging each other, ran to the Capitol in vast numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy at the sight of Marius's countenance. They bestowed the highest encomiums upon Cæsar, and declared he was the only relation worthy of that great man.

The senate was assembled on the occasion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greatest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. In his speech against him was this memorable expression, " You no longer attack the commonwealth by mines, but by open battery." Cæsar, however, defended his cause so well, that the senate gave it for him : and his admirers, still more elated, desired him to keep up a spirit of enterprise, for he might gain everything with the consent of the people, and easily become the first man in Rome.

Amidst these transactions, died Metellus, the principal pontiff. The office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in Rome, and of the greatest interest in the senate. Nevertheless, Cæsar did not give place to them, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of the compe-

titors seemed almost equal, and Catulus, more uneasy than the others under the uncertainty of success, on account of his superior dignity, sent privately to Cæsar, and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit. But he answered, "he would rather borrow still larger sums to carry his election."

When the day of election came, Cæsar's mother attending him to the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her, and said, "My dear mother, you will see me this day either chief pontiff or an exile." There never was anything more strongly contested; the suffrages, however, gave it for Cæsar. The senate, and others of the principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at this success; they apprehended that he would now push the people into all manner of licentiousness and misrule. Therefore, Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero much for sparing Cæsar, when Catiline's conspiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off. Catiline, whose intention was not so much to make alterations in the constitution, as entirely to subvert it, and throw all into confusion, upon some slight suspicions appearing against him, quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the conspiracy within the city.

Whether Cæsar privately encouraged and supported them, is uncertain; what is universally agreed upon, is this: The guilt of those two conspirators clearly appearing, Cicero, as consul, took the sense of the senators as to the punishment that should be inflicted upon them; and they all gave it for death, till it came to Cæsar's turn, who, in a studied speech, represented "that it seemed neither agreeable to justice, nor to the customs of their country, to put men of their birth and dignity to death, without an open trial, except in case

of extreme necessity. But that they should rather be kept in prison, in any of the cities of Italy that Cicero might pitch upon, till Catiline was subdued ; and then the senate might take cognizance of the crimes of each conspirator in full peace, and at their leisure."

The government of Spain was allotted Cæsar after his prætorship. But his circumstances were so indifferent, and his creditors so clamorous and troublesome when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Crassus, the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey. Crassus, therefore, took upon him to answer the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for eight hundred and thirty talents ; which procured him liberty to set out for his province.

It is said, that when he came to a little town, in passing the Alps, his friends, by way of mirth, took occasion to say, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any contentions for precedency, or such envy and ambition as we see among the great?" To which Cæsar answered, with great seriousness, "I assure you, I had rather be the first man here, than the second man in Rome."

In like manner we are told, that when he was in Spain he bestowed some leisure hours on reading part of the history of Alexander, and was so much affected with it, that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst out into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be the reason, he said, "Do you think I have not sufficient cause for concern, when Alexander at my age reigned over so many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious achievement to boast?"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his

arrival in Spain he applied to business with great diligence, and having added ten new-raised cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched against the Callæcians and Lusitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way that had not felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in the war; he restored harmony among the cities, and removed the occasions of quarrel between debtors and creditors. For he ordered that the creditor should have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole was paid. By these means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers, and enriched his soldiers with booty, who, upon one of his victories, saluted him "Imperator."

At his return he found himself under a troublesome dilemma: those that solicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls, and such as sue for the consulship to make their personal appearance in Rome. As these were things that he could not reconcile, and his arrival happened at the time of the election of consuls, he applied to the senate for permission to stand candidate, though absent, and offer his service by his friends. Cato strongly opposed his request, insisting on the prohibition by law; and when he saw numbers influenced by Cæsar, he attempted to prevent his success by gaining time; with which view he spun out the debate till it was too late to conclude upon anything that day. Cæsar then determined to give up the triumph, and solicit the consulship.

As soon as he had entered the city, he went to work upon an expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Crassus, two of the most powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæsar

secured the interest of both to himself, and while he seemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was undermining the constitution. For it was not, what most people imagine, the disagreement between Cæsar and Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather their union : they first combined to ruin the authority of the senate, and when that was effected, they parted to pursue each his own designs. Cato, who often prophesied what would be the consequence, was then looked upon as a troublesome and overbusy man ; afterwards he was esteemed a wise, though not a fortunate, counsellor.

Meantime Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey ; and under the auspices of their friendship, was declared consul, with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus given him for his colleague. He had no sooner entered upon his office than he proposed laws not so suitable to a consul as to a seditious tribune ; I mean the bills for a division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate opposed them, he was furnished with the pretext he had long wanted : he protested with great warmth, “ that they threw him into the arms of the people against his will, and that the rigorous and disgraceful opposition of the senate, laid him under the disagreeable necessity of seeking protection from the commons.” Accordingly he immediately applied to them.

Crassus planted himself on one side of him, and Pompey on the other. He demanded of them aloud, “ whether they approved his laws ?” and, as they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against those who threatened to oppose them with the sword. They declared they would assist him ; and Pompey added, “ Against those who come

with the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler." This expression gave the patricians great pain : it appeared not only unworthy of his character, the respect the senate had for him, and the reverence due to them, but even desperate and frantic. The people, however, were pleased with it.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still further of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, but, notwithstanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey ; and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand was not properly at liberty, for she was promised to Faustus the son of Sylla. Soon after this Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these proceedings, and called both gods and men to witness, how insupportable it was, that the first dignities of the state should be prostituted by marriages, and that this traffic of women should gain them what governments and forces they pleased.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the forum with armed men, and got the laws enacted which Cæsar had proposed merely to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side the Alps, was decreed to Cæsar for five years ; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato spoke against these regulations, Cæsar ordered him to be taken into custody, imagining he would appeal to the tribunes. But when he saw him going to prison without speaking one word, and observed that it not only gave the nobility great uneasiness, but that the people, out of reverence for Cato's virtue, followed him in melancholy silence, he whispered one of the tribunes to take him out of the lictors' hands.

Very few of the body of senators followed Cæsar on this occasion to the house. The greatest part, offended at such acts of tyranny, had withdrawn, Considius, one of the oldest senators that attended, taking occasion to observe, "that it was the soldiers and naked swords that kept the rest from assembling." Cæsar said, "Why does not fear keep you at home too?" Considius replied, "Old age is my defence ; the small remains of my life deserves not much care or precaution."

The most disgraceful step, however, that Cæsar took in his whole consulship, was the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people ; the same who had attempted to dishonour his bed, and had profaned the mysterious rites of the Good Goddess. He pitched upon him to ruin Cicero ; nor would he set out for his government before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment. For history informs us, that all these transactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country, represent him as another man : we begin, as it were, with a new life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the least inferior to the greatest and most admired commanders the world ever produced. For whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios, and Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or those who flourished a little before him, with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or with Pompey himself, whose fame in every military excellence reached the skies, Cæsar's achievements bear away the palm. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the scene of action, another in the extent of the countries he subdued ; this, in the number and strength of the enemies he overcame, that, in the savage manners and

treacherous disposition of the people he humanized ; one, in mildness and clemency to his prisoners, another, in bounty and munificence to his troops ; and all, in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he killed. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul, he took eight hundred cities by assault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three millions of men, one million of which he cut in pieces, and made another million prisoners.

Such, moreover, was the affection of his soldiers, and their attachment to his person, that they who under other commanders were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible where Cæsar's glory was concerned, and met the most dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could resist. To give three or four instances :—

Acilius, in a sea-fight near Marseilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ships, had his right hand cut off with a sword, yet he still held his buckler in his left, and pushed it in the enemy's faces, till he defeated them, and took the vessel.

Cassius Scæva, in the battle of Dyrrhachium, after he had an eye shot out with an arrow, his shoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh run through with another, and had received a hundred and thirty darts upon his shield, called out to the enemy, as if he would surrender himself. Upon this, two of them came up to him, and he gave one of them such a stroke upon the shoulder with his sword, that the arm dropped off ; the other he wounded in the face, and made him retire. His comrades then came up to his assistance, and saved his life.

In Britain some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and were there attacked by the

enemy, when a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and after prodigious exertions of valour, beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men,—after which, the soldier, with much difficulty, partly by swimming, partly by wading, passed the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. Cæsar, and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the soldier, in great distress, threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and, with tears in his eyes, begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, on board of which was Granius Petronius, lately appointed quæstor, put the rest to the sword, but told the quæstor, "he gave him his life." Petronius answered, "It is not the custom of Cæsar's soldiers to take, but to give quarter," and immediately plunged his sword in his breast.

This courage, and this great ambition, were cultivated and cherished, in the first place, by the generous manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them: for his whole conduct shewed that he did not accumulate riches in the course of his wars, to minister to luxury, or to serve any pleasures of his own; but that he laid them up in a common bank, as prizes to be obtained by distinguished valour, and that he considered himself no farther rich than as he was in a condition to do justice to the merit of his soldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible was their seeing Cæsar always take his share in danger, and never desire any exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not surprised at it, because they knew his passion for glory, but they were astonished at his patience under toil, so far in all

appearance above his bodily powers. For he was of a slender make, fair, of a delicate constitution, and subject to violent headaches and epileptic fits. He had the first attack of the falling sickness at Corduba. He did not, however, make these disorders a pretence for indulging himself. On the contrary, he sought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to strengthen his constitution by long marches, by simple diet, by seldom coming under cover. Thus he contended with his distemper, and fortified himself against its attacks.

When he slept it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that rest might be no hindrance to business. In the day-time he visited the castles, cities, and fortified camps, with a servant at his side, whom he employed, on such occasions, to write for him, and with a soldier behind, who carried his sword. By these means he travelled so fast, and with so little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his first setting out for those parts from Rome.

He was a good horseman in his early years, and brought that exercise to such perfection by practice, that he could sit a horse at full speed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he also accustomed himself to dictate letters as he rode on horseback, and found sufficient employment for two secretaries at once, or, according to Oppius, for more. It is also said that Cæsar was the first who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends who were in the same city with him, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of business or great extent of the city did not admit of an interview.

His first expedition in Gaul was against the Helvetians and the Tigurini; who, after having burned twelve of their

own towns and four hundred villages, put themselves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Nor were these new adventurers inferior to the other in courage ; and in numbers they were equal ; being in all three hundred thousand, of which a hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. Cæsar sent his lieutenant, Labienus, against the Tigurini, who routed them near the river Arar. But the Helvetians suddenly attacked Cæsar as he was on the march to a confederate town. He gained, however, a strong post for his troops, notwithstanding the surprise ; and when he had drawn them up, his horse was brought him,—upon which he said, “When I have won the battle I shall want my horse for the pursuit ; at present, let us march as we are against the enemy.” Accordingly he charged them with great vigour on foot.

It cost him a long and severe conflict to drive the army out of the field ; but he found the greatest difficulty when he came to their rampart of carriages ; for not only the men made a most obstinate stand there, but the very women and children fought till they were cut in pieces ; insomuch that the battle did not end before midnight.

To this great action he added a still greater. He collected the barbarians who had escaped out of the battle, to the number of a hundred thousand, and upwards, and obliged them to resettle in the country they had relinquished, and to rebuild the cities they had burned. This he did in fear that if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would pass the Rhine, and seize it.

His second war was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans, though he had before honoured their king Ario-

vistus with the title of an ally of Rome. They proved insupportable neighbours to those he had subdued, and it was easy to see, that instead of being satisfied with their present acquisitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conquests over all Gaul. He found, however, his officers, particularly those of the young nobility, afraid of this expedition ; for they had entered into Cæsar's service only in the hopes of living luxuriously and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them, before the whole army, "that they were at liberty to retire, and needed not hazard their persons against their inclinations, since they were so unmanly and spiritless. For his part, he would march with the tenth legion only against these barbarians ; for they were neither better men than the Cimbrians, nor was he a worse general than Marius." Upon this, the tenth legion deputed some of their corps to thank him. The other legions laid the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great spirit and alacrity. After a march of several days, they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Cæsar's arrival broke the confidence of Ariovistus. Instead of expecting that the Romans would come and attack him, he had supposed they would not dare to stand the Germans when they went in quest of them. He was much surprised, therefore, at this bold attempt of Cæsar, and, what was worse, he saw his own troops were disheartened. They were dispirited still more by the prophecies of their matrons, who had the care of divining, and used to do it by the eddies of rivers, the windings, the murmurs, or other noise made by the stream. On this occasion, they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæsar having got information of these matters, and seeing the Germans lie close in their camp, thought it better to engage them while thus dejected, than to sit still and wait their time. For this reason he attacked their entrenchments and the hills upon which they were posted, which provoked them to such a degree that they descended in great fury to the plain. They fought, and were entirely routed. Cæsar pursued them to the Rhine, which was three hundred furlongs from the field of battle, covering all the way with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus reached the river in time enough to get over with a few troops. The number of killed is said to have amounted to eighty thousand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his army in winter quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Gaul, on this side the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the transactions in Rome,—for the river Rubicon parts the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. During his stay there he carried on a variety of state intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their respects to him, and he sent them all away satisfied; some laden with presents, and others happy in hope. In the same manner throughout all his wars, without Pompey's observing it, he was conquering his enemies by the arms of the Roman citizens, and gaining the citizens by the money of his enemies. The candidates for the great offices of state were supplied with money out of his funds to corrupt the people, and after they had carried their election, did everything to extend his power. Nay, the greatest and most illustrious personages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Crassus, Appius, governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, pro-consul in Spain. So that there were a hundred and twenty lictors attending

their masters, and above two hundred senators honoured him with their assiduities. After they had fixed upon a plan of business, they parted. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls the year ensuing, and to get Cæsar's government prolonged for five years more, with supplies out of the treasury for his occasions.

His expedition into Britain discovered the most daring spirit of enterprise. For he was the first who entered the western ocean with a fleet, and, embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an island whose very existence was doubted. Some writers had represented it so incredibly large that others contested its being, and considered both the name and the thing as a fiction. Yet Cæsar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He sailed thither twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained ; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in so much wretchedness. He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished ; he only received hostages of the king, and appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

Cæsar had been some time resolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to destroy Cæsar. For Crassus, who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæsar to do, to make himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him that was so, nor for Pompey to prevent it, but to take off the man he feared. It is true, it was no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him ; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining he could as easily pull him

down as he had set him up ; whereas Cæsar, from the first, designing to ruin his rivals, had retired at a distance, like a champion, for exercise. By long service and great achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had so improved his army, and his own reputation too, that he was considered as on a footing with Pompey ; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution, in the times of the misgovernment at Rome. These were partly furnished by Pompey himself ; and indeed all ranks of men were so corrupted that tables were publicly set out, upon which the candidates for offices were professedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes ; and the people came not only to give their voices for the man who had bought them, but with all manner of offensive weapons to fight for him. Hence it often happened that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual scene of anarchy. In this dismal situation of things, in these storms of epidemic madness, wise men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worse than monarchy. Nay, there were many who scrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and that the physician ought to be pitched upon, who would apply that remedy with the gentlest hand : by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his discourse, pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorship, though at the same time every step he took was directed that way. Cato, understanding his drift, persuaded the senate to declare him sole consul, that, satisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent measures to make himself dictator. The senate not only agreed to this, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the

administration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies there, for whose maintenance he was allowed a thousand talents a year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied, by his friends, for another consulship, and for the continuance of his commission in Gaul, answerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey was at first silent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæsar on other accounts, opposed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect dishonour upon him.

Pompey was so much elated with this that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed his enemy only with speeches and decrees, which Cæsar made no account of. Nay, we are told, that a centurion whom Cæsar had sent to Rome, waiting at the door of the senate-house for the result of the deliberations, and being informed that the senate would not give Cæsar a longer term in his commission, laid his hand upon his sword, and said, "But this shall give it."

Indeed, Cæsar's requisitions had a great appearance of justice and honour. He proposed to lay down his arms, on condition Pompey would do the same, and that they should both, as private citizens, leave it to their country to reward their services: for to deprive him of his commission and troops, and continue Pompey's, was to give absolute power to the one, to which the other was unjustly accused of aspiring. Curio, who made these propositions to the people in behalf of Cæsar, was received with the loudest plaudits; and there were some who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorious in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced

a letter from Cæsar, to the same purport, and caused it to be read, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from the consuls. Hereupon, Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms by such a day, he should be declared an enemy to the state; and the consuls putting it to the question, "Whether Pompey should dismiss his forces?" and again, "Whether Cæsar should disband his?" few of the members were for the first, and almost all for the second. After which Antony put the question, "Whether both should lay down their commissions?" and all with one voice answered in the affirmative.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæsar with more moderate proposals. He offered to abandon all the rest, provided they would continue to him the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, till he could apply for a second consulship. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very desirous of effecting a reconciliation, used all possible means to soften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all but the article of the two legions; and Cicero endeavoured to accommodate the matter, by persuading Cæsar's friends to be satisfied with the two provinces and six thousand soldiers only. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromise, when Lentulus the consul, rejecting it with disdain, treated Antony and Curio, with great indignity, and drove them out of the senate-house. Thus he furnished Cæsar with the most plausible argument imaginable, and he failed not to make use of it to exasperate his troops, by showing them persons of distinction, and magistrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages, and in the habit of slaves; for their fears had made them leave Rome in that disguise.

Cæsar had not then with him above three hundred horse and five thousand foot. The rest of his forces were left on the other side of the Alps, and he had sent them orders to join him. But he saw the beginning of his enterprise, and the attack he meditated did not require any great numbers: his enemies were rather to be struck with consternation by the boldness and expedition with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impression upon them then, than great preparations afterwards. He, therefore, ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their swords, without any other armour, and make themselves master of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all possible care that no blood should be shed or disturbance raised. Hortensius was at the head of this party. As for himself, he spent the day at a public show of gladiators; and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment, where he entertained company. When it was growing dark, he left the company, after having desired them to make merry till his return, which they would not have long to wait for. To some of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not all together, but by different ways. Then taking a hired carriage, he set out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards.

When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his reflections became more interesting in proportion as the danger grew near. Staggered by the greatness of his attempt, he stopped, to weigh within himself its inconveniences; and, as he stood revolving in silence the arguments on both sides, he many times changed his opinion. After which, he deliberated upon it with such of his friends as were by, among whom

was Asinius Pollio ; enumerating the calamities which the passage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by posterity. At last, upon some sudden impulse, bidding adieu to his reasonings, and plunging into the abyss of futurity, in the words of those who embark in doubtful and arduous enterprises, he cried out "The die is cast !" and immediately passed the river. He travelled so fast the rest of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day-light, and took it.

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide its gates both by sea and land, and Cæsar, by going beyond the bounds of his province, had infringed the laws of his country : not individuals were seen, as on other occasions, wandering in distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, and seeking refuge by flight. Most of the tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it was so filled with the hasty conflux of the circling people, that amidst the violent agitation it would hardly either obey the magistrate or listen to the voice of reason, but was in the utmost danger of falling by its own violence ; for the whole was a prey to contrary passions and the most violent convulsions.

Pompey at that time was not inferior in numbers to Cæsar, but his partisans would not suffer him to proceed according to his own opinion. By false reports and groundless terrors, as if the enemy was at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous state, and nothing to be expected but hostilities ; and then left Rome, having first ordered the senate and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls, too, fled with him, without offering the sacrifices which custom required, before

they took their departure from Rome. Most of the senators snatched up those things in their houses that were next at hand, as if the whole was not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were some who before were well affected to Cæsar, that in the present terror changed sides, and suffered themselves without necessity to be carried away by the torrent. What a miserable spectacle was the city then ! In so dreadful a tempest, like a ship abandoned by its pilots, tossed about at all adventures, and at the mercy of the winds and seas. But though flight was so unpromising an alternative, such was the love the Romans had for Pompey, that they considered the place he retired to as their country, and Rome as the camp of Cæsar.

In the meantime Cæsar, having added to his own army the troops of Domitius, and all others that Pompey had left in garrison, was strong enough to march against Pompey himself. The latter, however, did not wait for him ; but retired to Brundisium, from whence he sent the consuls with part of the forces to Dyrrhachium, and a little after, upon the approach of Cæsar, sailed thither himself. Cæsar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ships. He therefore returned to Rome, with the glory of having reduced Italy in sixty days without spilling a drop of blood.

Finding the city in a more settled condition than he expected, and many senators there, he addressed them in a mild and gracious manner, and desired them to send deputies to Pompey to offer honourable terms of peace. But not one of them would take upon him the commission : whether it was that they were afraid of Pompey, whom they had deserted, or whether they thought Cæsar not in earnest in the proposal, and that he only made it to save appearances. As Metellus the tribune opposed his taking money out of

the public treasury, and alleged some laws against it, Cæsar said, "Arms and laws do not flourish together. If you are not pleased at what I am about, you have nothing to do but to withdraw : indeed, war will not bear much liberty of speech. When I say this, I am departing from my own right ; for you and all, whom I have found exciting a spirit of faction against me, are at my disposal." Saying this, he approached the doors of the treasury, and as the keys were not produced, he sent for workmen to break them open. Metellus opposed him again, and some praised his firmness ; but Cæsar, raising his voice, threatened to put him to death, if he gave him any farther trouble. "And, young man," said he, "you are not ignorant that this is harder for me to say than do." Metellus, terrified with his menace, retired, and afterwards Cæsar was easily and readily supplied with everything necessary for the war.

After this, he caused himself to be declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and then went to prosecute the war. He marched so fast to Brundisium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only six hundred select horse and five legions. It was at the time of the winter solstice, the beginning of January, that he set sail. He crossed the Ionian, made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back his ships to Brundisium to bring over the forces that were left behind. But those troops, exhausted with fatigue, and tired out with the multitude of enemies they had to engage with, broke out into complaints against Cæsar, as they were upon their march to the port. "Whither will this man lead us," said they, "and where will be the end of our labours? Will he harass us for ever, as if we had limbs of stone, or bodies of iron? But iron itself yields to repeated

blows ; our very shields and cuirasses call out for rest. Will not Cæsar learn from our wounds that we are mortal, that we have the same feelings, and are liable to the same impressions with other men ? The gods themselves cannot force the seasons, or clear the winter seas of storms and tempests. And it is in this season that he would expose us, as if he was flying from his enemies, rather than pursuing them." Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundusium. But when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, too, for not hastening their march. And sitting upon the cliffs, they kept their eyes upon the sea towards Epirus, to see if they could discover the transports that were to fetch them.

Meantime Cæsar, not having a sufficient force at Apollonia to make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops at Brundusium delayed to join him, to relieve himself from the anxiety and perplexity he was in, undertook a most astonishing enterprise. Though the sea was covered with the enemy's fleets, he resolved to embark in a vessel of twelve oars, without acquainting any person with his intention, and sail to Brundusium. In the night, therefore, he took the habit of a slave, and throwing himself into the vessel like a man of no account, sat there in silence. They fell down the river Anias for the sea, where the entrance is generally easy, because the land-wind, rising in the morning, used to beat off the waves of the sea and smooth the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a strong sea-wind sprung up which overpowered that from the land ; so that by the rage of the sea and the counteraction of the stream, the river became extremely rough ; the waves

dashed against each other with a tumultuous noise, and formed such dangerous eddies, that the pilot despaired of making good his passage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæsar, perceiving this, rose up, and shewing himself to the pilot, who was greatly astonished at the sight of him, said, "Go forward, my friend, and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune." The mariners then forgot the storm, and plying their oars with the utmost vigour and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the resistance of the waves. But such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed so fast into the vessel, that Cæsar at last, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he did not assure himself of conquering with them only, but in distrust of their support, gave himself so much uneasiness and exposed his person to so much danger on account of the absent.

Soon after, Antony arrived from Brundisium with the troops. Cæsar then resolved to decamp, and march against Scipio in Macedonia; concluding that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies, as he had done, from the sea; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated at this retreat of Cæsar; they considered it as a flight and an acknowledgment that he was beaten, and therefore wanted to pursue. But Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of such consequence. He was well provided with everything requisite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that reason chose, by protracting the war, to wear out

the little vigour the enemy had left. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irresistible in the field ; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up entrenchments, for attacking walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour lessened with their strength. Besides there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their strange and bad diet : and what was a still more important circumstance, Cæsar wanted both money and provisions, so that it seemed as if he must shortly fall of himself. All the rest censured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the sword. Piqued at their reproaches, Pompey, against his own judgment, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty ; for, on account of his late loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. However, upon his taking Gomphi, a town in Thessaly, his troops not only found sufficient refreshment, but recovered surprisingly of the distemper ; for, drinking plentifully of the wine they found there, and afterwards marching on in a Bacchanalian manner, the new turn their blood took threw off the disorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped opposite each other on the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion ; in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and an alarming dream. He dreamed that the people of Rome received him in the theatre with loud plaudits, and that he adorned the chapel of Venus Nicephora, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree. But if Pompey was alarmed, those about him were so absurdly sanguine in their

expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled about Cæsar's pontificate ; and numbers sent to Rome, to engage houses convenient for consuls and prætors, making themselves sure of being soon raised to those high offices after the war. But the cavalry testified the greatest impatience for a battle ; so proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horses, and the beauty and vigour of their persons : besides, they were much more numerous than Cæsar's, being seven thousand to one thousand. Nor were the numbers of infantry equal ; for Pompey had forty-five thousand, and Cæsar only twenty-two thousand.

Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them, "that Cornificius was well advanced on his way with two more legions, and that he had fifteen cohorts under the command of Calenus, in the environs of Megara and Athens." He then asked them "whether they chose to wait for those troops, or to risk a battle without them?" They answered aloud, "Let us not wait ; but do you find out some stratagem to bring the enemy, as soon as possible, to an action."

As they were striking their tents, his scouts rode up, and told him the enemy were coming down to give him battle. Happy in the news, he made his prayers to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. When the signal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to stand in close order, and wait the enemy's attack, till they were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæsar blamed his conduct. He said Pompey was not aware what weight the swift and fierce advance to the first charge gives to every blow, nor how the courage of each soldier is inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole.

While the infantry were warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great

confidence, and extended their squadrons, to surround Cæsar's right wing. But before they could begin the attack, six cohorts which Cæsar had placed behind came up boldly to receive them. They did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a distance, nor strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but aimed at the eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received. For Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers who had not been used to wars and wounds, and who set a great value upon their beauty, would avoid, above all things, a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the present danger as the future deformity. The event answered his expectation. They could not bear the spears pointed against their faces, or the steel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This caused such confusion, that at last they fled in the most infamous manner, and ruined the whole cause. For the cohorts which had been beaten off surrounded their infantry, and charging them in the rear, as well as in front, soon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, when from the other wing he saw his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himself, nor did he remember that he was Pompey the Great; but like a man deprived of his senses by some superior power, or struck with consternation at his defeat as the consequence of the divine decree, he retired to his camp without speaking a word, and sat down in his tent to wait the issue. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and the enemy had got upon his ramparts, and were engaged with the troops appointed to defend them, he seemed to come to himself, and cried out, "What! into my camp too?" With-

out uttering one word more, he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit that might favour his flight, he made his escape privately.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the enemy lay dead, and those they were then dispatching, he said with a sigh, "This they would have; to this cruel necessity they reduced me: for had Cæsar dismissed his troops, after so many great and successful wars, he would have been condemned as a criminal." Most of those who were killed at the taking of the camp were slaves, and there fell not in the battle above six thousand soldiers. Cæsar incorporated with his own legions most of the infantry that were taken prisoners; and pardoned many persons of distinction. Brutus, who afterwards killed him, was of the number. It is said, that when he did not make his appearance after the battle, Cæsar was very uneasy, and that upon his presenting himself unhurt, he expressed great joy.

Cæsar granted the whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, for the sake of the victory he had gained there, and then went in pursuit of Pompey. Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey assassinated, and when Theodotus presented the head to him, he turned from the sight with great abhorrence. The signet of that general was the only thing he took, and on taking it he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering about the country, and brought to Cæsar, he loaded them with favours and took them into his own service. He wrote to his friends at Rome "that the chief enjoyment he had of his victory was, in saving every day one or other of his fellow-citizens who had borne arms against him."

As for his Egyptian war, some assert that it was under-

taken without necessity, and that his passion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel which proved both prejudicial to his reputation and dangerous to his person. The first difficulty he met with was the want of water, the Egyptians having stopped up the aqueducts that supplied his quarter. The second was, the loss of his ships in harbour, which he was forced to burn himself, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when the flames unfortunately spreading from the dock to the palace burned the great Alexandrian library. The third was in the sea-fight near the isle of Pharos, when, seeing his men hard pressed, he leaped from the mole into a little skiff, to go to their assistance. The Egyptians making up on all sides, he threw himself into the sea, and with much difficulty reached his galleys by swimming. Having several valuable papers, which he was not willing either to lose or to wet, it is said he held them above water with one hand, and swam with the other. The skiff sank soon after he left it. At last the king joining the insurgents, Cæsar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were slain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæsar opportunity to establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Asia Minor, where he had intelligence that Domitius, whom he had left governor, was defeated by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with the few troops that he had left; and that Pharnaces, pursuing his advantage with great ardour, had made himself master of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Less, having stirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Asia against the Romans. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, and defeated him in a great battle

near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and dispatch with which he gained his victory, he made use only of three words, "I came, I saw, I conquered." Their having all the same form and termination in the Roman language adds grace to their conciseness.

After this extraordinary success he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome, as the year of his second dictatorship, an office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring. He was declared consul for the year ensuing. But it was a blot in his character that he did not punish his troops, who, in a tumult, had killed Cosconius and Galba, men of Prætorian dignity, in any severer manner than by calling them citizens, instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, he gave each of them a thousand drachmas notwithstanding, and assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dola-bella, the avarice of Amintius, the drunkenness of Antony, and the insolence of Cornificius, who, having got possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down, and rebuilt it, because he thought it not large enough for him. These things were very disagreeable to the Romans. Cæsar knew it, and disapproved such behaviour, but was obliged, through political views, to make use of such ministers.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia, had escaped into Africa, where they raised a respectable army with the assistance of King Juba. Cæsar now resolved to carry war into their quarters, and in order to it, first crossed over to Sicily, though it was about the time of the winter solstice. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own

tent almost within the wash of the sea ; and a favourable wind springing up, he re-embarked with three thousand foot and a small body of horse. After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remaining part of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under great concern. He found them, however, on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed, that the enemy had great dependence on an ancient oracle, the purport of which was "that the race of Scipio would be always victorious in Africa." And, as he happened to have in his army one of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallution, though in other respects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio, the enemy's general, or to turn the oracle on his side, in all engagements he gave this Sallution the command, as if he had been really general. There were frequent occasions of this kind ; for he was often forced to fight for provisions, having neither a sufficiency of bread for his men, nor forage for his horses. He was obliged to give his horses the very sea-weed, only washing out the salt, and mixing a little grass with it to make it go down. The thing that laid him under a necessity of having recourse to this expedient was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by swift and sudden impressions commanded the whole coast.

One day when Cæsar's cavalry had nothing else to do, they diverted themselves with an African, who danced, and played upon the flute with great perfection. They had left their horses to the care of boys, and sat attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy, coming upon them at once, killed part, and entered the camp

with others, who fled with great precipitation. Had not Cæsar himself and Asinius Pollio come to their assistance and stopped their flight, the war would have been at an end that hour. In another engagement the enemy had the advantage again ; on which occasion it was that Cæsar took an ensign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, said, " Look on this side for the enemy."

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to come to a decisive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their respective camps, which were at no great distance, he went in person to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, to raise a fortification for a place of arms and an occasional retreat. While Scipio was constructing his walls and ramparts, Cæsar, with incredible dispatch, made his way through a country almost impracticable, by reason of its woods and difficult passes, and coming suddenly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the best use of his opportunity, and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of success he took the camp of Afranius, and destroyed that of the Numidians ; Juba, their king, being glad to save himself by flight. Thus, in a small part of one day, he made himself master of three camps, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy, with the loss only of fifty men.

Such is the account some give us of the action ; others say, that as Cæsar was drawing up his army, and giving his orders, he had an attack of his old distemper ; and that upon its approach, before it had overpowered and deprived him of his senses, as he felt the first agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay in quiet till the fit was over.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the battle. Some of them, being afterwards taken, dispatched themselves, and a number were put to death by Cæsar. Having a strong desire to take Cato alive, the conquerer hastened to Utica, which Cato had the charge of, and for that reason was not in the battle. But by the way, he was informed that he had killed himself, and his uneasiness at the news was very visible. As his officers were wondering what might be the cause of that uneasiness, he cried out, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou enviedst me the glory of giving thee thy life."

Cæsar, after his return from Africa to Rome, spoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told them he had subdued a country so extensive, that it would bring yearly into the public stores two hundred thousand Attic measures of wheat, and three millions of pounds of oil. After this, he led up his several triumphs over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the son of that prince, then very young, walked in the procession. It proved a happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became an historian worthy to be numbered among the most learned of Greece. The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions for the people. He entertained them at twenty-two thousand tables, and presented them with a numerous show of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who had been long dead.

When these exhibitions were over, an account was taken of the citizens, who, from three hundred and twenty thousand, were reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand. So fatal a calamity was the civil war, and such a number of the people

did it take off, to say nothing of the misfortunes it brought upon the rest of Italy, and all the provinces of the empire.

This business done, he was elected consul the fourth time; and the first thing he undertook was to march into Spain, against the sons of Pompey, who, though young, had assembled a numerous army, and shewed a courage worthy the command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to that war, was fought under the walls of Munda. Cæsar at first saw his men so hard pressed, and making so feeble a resistance, that he ran through the ranks, amidst the swords and spears, crying, "Are you not áshamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?" The great and vigorous efforts this reproach produced at last made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than thirty thousand of them slain, whereas Cæsar lost only a thousand, but those were some of the best men he had. As he retired after the battle, he told his friends, "He had often fought for victory, but that was the first time he had fought for his life."

This was the last of his wars; and his triumph on account of it, gave the Romans more pain than any other step he had taken. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals or barbarian kings, but for ruining the children, and destroying the race of one of the greatest men Rome had ever produced, though he proved at last unfortunate. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing in things which nothing could excuse, either before the gods or men, but extreme necessity.

Cicero was the first who proposed that the senate should confer great honours upon Cæsar, but honours within the measure of humanity. Those who followed contended with

each other which should make him the most extraordinary compliments, and by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees, rendered him odious and insupportable even to persons of candour. His enemies are supposed to vie with his flatterers in these sacrifices, that they might have the better pretence, and the more cause, to lift up their hands against him. This is probable enough, because in other respects, after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable. It seems as if there was nothing unreasonable in their ordering a temple to be built to Clemency, in gratitude for the mercy they had experienced in Cæsar. For he not only pardoned most of those who had appeared against him in the field, but on some of them he bestowed honours and preferments—on Brutus and Cassius for instance—for they were both prætors. The statues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not suffer them to lie in that posture; he erected them again—on which occasion Cicero said, “That Cæsar, by rearing Pompey’s statues, had established his own.” His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it,—“for,” he said, “it was better to die once, than to live always in fear of death.” He esteemed the affection of the people the most honourable and the safest guard, and therefore endeavoured to gain them by feasts and distributions of corn, as he did the soldiers, by placing them in agreeable colonies.

He completed the regulation of the calendar, and corrected the erroneous computation of time, agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the greatest utility. For it was not only in ancient times that the Roman months so ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the festivals and days of sacrifice, by little and

little, fell back into seasons quite opposite to those of their institution ; but even in the time of Cæsar, when the solar year was made use of, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter ; and the priests, who were the only persons that knew anything about it, used to insert, all at once, and when nobody expected it, an intercalary month, called Mercedonius, of which Numa was the inventor. That remedy, however, proved much too weak, and was far from operating extensively enough, to correct the great miscomputations of time.

Cæsar, having proposed the question to the most able philosophers and mathematicians, published, upon principles already verified, a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans still go by, and by that means are nearer the truth than other nations with respect to the difference between the sun's revolution and that of the twelve months. Yet this useful invention furnished matter of ridicule to the envious, and to those who could but ill brook his power. For Cicero, (if I mistake not) when some one happened to say, "Lyra will rise to-morrow," answered, "Undoubtedly ; there is an edict for it : " as if the calendar was forced upon them, as well as other things.

But the principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at last caused his death, was his passion for the title of king. In the Lupercalia, which, according to most writers, is an ancient pastoral feast, and which answers in many respects to the Lycæa amongst the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magistrates, run about the streets naked, and, by way of diversion, strike all they meet with leathern thongs with the hair upon them. Cæsar wore a triumphal robe that day, and seated himself in a golden chair upon the rostra, to see the ceremony.

Antony ran among the rest, in compliance with the rules of the festival, for he was consul. When he came into the forum, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæsar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this, some plaudits were heard, but very feeble, because they proceeded only from persons placed there on purpose. Cæsar refused it, and then the plaudits were loud and general. Antony presented it once more, and few applauded his officiousness: but when Cæsar rejected it again the applause again was general. Cæsar, undeceived by his second trial, rose up, and ordered the diadem to be consecrated in the Capitol.

Upon this many applied to Marcus Brutus, who, by the father's side, was supposed to be a descendant of that ancient Brutus who expelled the kings, and whose mother was of the illustrious house of the Servilii. He was also nephew and son-in-law to Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand against monarchy, but he was withheld by the honours and favours he had received from Cæsar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his request, but continued to honour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured him the most honourable prætorship, and he had named him for the consulship four years after, in preference to Cassius, who was his competitor. On which occasion Cæsar is reported to have said, "Cassius assigns the strongest reasons, but I cannot refuse Brutus."

Some impeached Brutus, after the conspiracy was formed; but, instead of listening to them, he laid his hand on his body, and said, "Brutus will wait for this skin:" intimating, that though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of

empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baseness to obtain it. Those, however, who were desirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him only, or principally at least ; and as they durst not speak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and seat which he used as prætor, mostly in those terms ; “Thou sleepest, Brutus ;” or, “Thou art not Brutus.”

Cassius perceiving his friend's ambition a little stimulated by these papers, began to ply him closer than before, and spur him on to the great enterprise ; for he had a particular enmity against Cæsar. Cæsar, too, had some suspicion of him, and he even said one day to his friends, “What think you of Cassius? I do not like his pale looks.” Another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accused of some designs against his person and government, he said, “I have no apprehensions from those fat and sleek men ; I rather fear the pale and lean ones ;” meaning Cassius and Brutus.

It seems, from this instance, that fate is not so secret as it is inevitable ; for we are told, there were strong signs and presages of the death of Cæsar. As to the lights in the heavens, the strange noises heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of solitary birds in the forum, perhaps they deserve not our notice in so great an event as this. But some attention should be given to Strabo the philosopher. According to him, there were seen in the air men of fire encountering each other : such a flame appeared to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, that all the spectators thought it must be burned, yet, when it was over, he found no harm : and one of the victims which Cæsar offered, was found without a heart. The latter was certainly a most alarming prodigy ; for, according to the rules of

nature, no creature can exist without a heart. What is still more extraordinary, many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ides of March, and that when the day was come, as he was going to the senate house, he called to the soothsayer, and said, laughing, "The ides of March are come;" to which he answered softly, "Yes; but they are not gone."

The evening before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus, and signed, according to custom, a number of letters, as he sat at table. While he was so employed, there arose a question, "What kind of death was the best?" and Cæsar answering before them all, cried out, "A sudden one." The same night, as he was in bed with his wife, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once. Disturbed both with the noise and the light, he observed, by moonshine, Calpurnia, in a deep sleep, uttering broken words and inarticulate groans. She dreamed that she was weeping over him, as she held him, murdered, in her arms. Others say, she dreamed that the pinnacle was fallen, which, as Livy tells us, the senate had ordered to be erected upon Cæsar's house, by way of ornament and distinction; and that it was the fall of it which she lamented and wept for. Be that as it may, the next morning she conjured Cæsar not to go out that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but to adjourn the senate; and, if he had no regard to her dreams, to have recourse to some other species of divination, or to sacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm; for he had never known before, in Calpurnia, anything of the weakness or superstition of her sex, though she was now so much affected.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and, as the diviners found no auspicious tokens in any of them, he sent

Antony to dismiss the senate. In the meantime, Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, came in. He was a person in whom Cæsar placed such confidence that he had appointed him his second heir ; yet he was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man, fearing that if Cæsar adjourned the senate to another day the affair might be discovered, laughed at the diviners, and told Cæsar he would be highly to blame, if, by such a slight, he gave the senate an occasion of complaint against him ;—“For they were met,” he said, “at his summons, and came prepared with one voice to honour him with the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that he should wear the diadem both by sea and land everywhere out of Italy. But if any one go and tell them, now they have taken their places, they must go home again, and return when Calpurnia happens to have better dreams, what room will your enemies have to launch out against you ? Or who will hear your friends when they attempt to shew, that this is not an open servitude on the one hand, and tyranny on the other ! —If you are absolutely persuaded that this is an unlucky day, it is certainly better to go yourself, and tell them you have strong reasons for putting off business till another time.” So saying, he took Cæsar by the hand, and led him out.

In the place where the senate was that day assembled, and which proved the scene of that tragedy, there was a statue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had consecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be clearer than that some deity conducted the whole business, and directed the execution of it to that very spot. Even Cassius himself, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the statue of Pompey, and secretly invoked his aid, before the great attempt. The arduous

occasion, it seems, overruled his former sentiments, and laid them open to all the influence of enthusiasm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a man of great strength, was held in discourse without by Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long story to detain him.

When Cæsar entered the house, the senate rose to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metilius Cimber, for the recall of his brother from exile. They continued their instances till he came to his seat. When he was seated he gave them a positive denial; and as they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimber, then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous; for the beginning of so tremendous an enterprise he was probably in some disorder. Cæsar therefore turned upon him and laid hold of his sword. At the same time they both cried out, the one in Latin, "Villain! Casca! what dost thou mean?" and the other in Greek, to his brother, "Brother, help!"

After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy were seized with consternation and horror, inso-much that they durst neither fly nor assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, that whatever way he turned, he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they all agreed to have a share in the sacrifice and a taste of his blood. Therefore Brutus himself gave him a stroke



“ Either by accident, or pushed thither by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood.”—OLD WORLD WORTHIES, Page 281.

in the groin. Some say, he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or pushed thither by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood; so that Pompey seemed to preside over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than three-and-twenty wounds. And many of the conspirators wounded each other, as they were aiming their blows at him.

Next day Brutus and the rest of the conspirators came down from the Capitol, and addressed the people, who attended to their discourse without expressing either dislike or approbation of what was done. But by their silence it appeared that they pitied Cæsar, at the same time that they revered Brutus. The senate passed a general amnesty; and, to reconcile all parties, they decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorship; while on Brutus and his friends they bestowed governments, and such honours as were suitable: so that it was generally imagined the commonweath was firmly established again, and all brought into the best order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæsar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a considerable legacy, and they beheld the body, as it was carried through the forum, all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept within bounds. They stopped the procession, and tearing up the benches, with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burned the corpse there. Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, some ran to burn the houses of the assassins, while others ranged the city to

find the conspirators themselves, and tear them in pieces ; but they had taken such care to secure themselves that they could not meet with one of them.

Brutus and Cassius were so terrified at this rage of the populace that, a few days after, they left the city.

Cæsar died at the age of fifty-six, and did not survive Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which he pursued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts he gained it at last. But he reaped no other fruit from it than an empty and invidious title. It is true the Divine Power, which conducted him through life, attended him after his death, as his avenger, pursued and hunted out the assassins over sea and land, and rested not till there was not a man left, either of those who dipped their hands in his blood, or of those who gave their sanction to the deed.

The most remarkable of natural events relative to this affair was, that Cassius, after he had lost the battle of Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had made use of against Cæsar ; and the most signal phenomenon in the heavens was that of a great comet, which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared. To which we may add the fading of the sun's lustre ; for his orb looked pale all that year ; he rose not with a sparkling radiance, nor had the heat he afforded its usual strength. The air of course, was dark and heavy, for want of that vigorous heat which clears and rarefies it ; and the fruits were so crude and unconcocted that they pined away and decayed, through the chillness of the atmosphere.

We have a proof still more striking that the assassination of Cæsar was displeasing to the gods, in the phantom that

appeared to Brutus. The story of it is this : Brutus was on the point of transporting his army from Abydos to the opposite continent ; and the night before he lay in his tent, awake, according to custom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war ; for it was natural for him to watch great part of the night, and no general ever required so little sleep. With all his senses about him, he heard a noise at the door of his tent, and looking towards the light, which was now burned very low, he saw a terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious stature and the most hideous aspect. At first he was struck with astonishment ; but when he saw it neither did nor spoke anything to him, but stood in silence by his bed, he asked it, who it was. The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus ; thou shalt see me at Philippi." Brutus answered boldly, "I'll meet thee there ;" and the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time after, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæsar at Philippi, and the first day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The night before he was to fight the second battle, the same spectre appeared to him again, but spoke not a word. Brutus, however, understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of despair. Yet he did not fall in the action ; but seeing all was lost, he retired to the top of a rock, where he presented his naked sword to his breast, and a friend, as they tell us, assisting the thrust, he died upon the spot.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

BORN B.C. 107.—DIED 43.



HE was born on the third of January. When he was of a proper age to go to school, his genius broke out with so much lustre, and he gained so distinguished a reputation among the boys, that the fathers of some of them repaired to the school to see Cicero, and to have specimens of his capacity for literature; but the less civilised were angry with their sons, when they saw them take Cicero in the middle of them as he walked, and always give him the place of honour. He had that turn of genius and disposition which Plato would have a scholar and philosopher to possess. He had both the capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of science that he despised.

When he had finished those studies through which boys commonly pass, he attended the lectures of Philo the academician, whom, of all the scholars of Clitomachus, the Romans most admired for his eloquence, and loved for his conduct. At the same time he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law, under Mucius Scævola, an eminent lawyer, and president of the senate. He likewise got a taste for military knowledge under Sylla, in the Marian war. But afterwards, finding the commonwealth en-

gaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but absolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philosophic and contemplative life ; conversing with men of letters from Greece, and making farther advances in science. This method of life he pursued till Sylla had made himself master, and there appeared to be some established government again.

Cicero now prepared to apply himself to public affairs with great hopes of success. He was appointed quæstor at a time when there was a great scarcity of corn ; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the people a great deal of trouble at first by compelling them to send their corn to Rome. But afterwards, when they came to experience his diligence, his justice, and moderation, they honoured him more than any quæstor that Rome had ever sent them. When Cicero stood for the prætorship, he had many competitors who were persons of distinction, and yet he was returned first. As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with great integrity and honour.

For the sake of their country, the patricians joined the plebeians in raising him to the consulship. The occasion was this. The change which Sylla introduced into the constitution at first seemed harsh and uneasy, but by time and custom it came to an establishment which many thought not a bad one. At present there were some who wanted to bring in another change, merely to gratify their own avarice, and without the least view to the public good. They had a chief of a bold and enterprising spirit, and the most remarkable versatility of manners ; his name Lucius Catiline. Besides a variety of other crimes, he was accused of killing his own brother. To screen himself from prosecution, he persuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proscribed, as if he had been still alive. These profligates, with such a leader, among

other engagements of secrecy and fidelity, sacrificed a man, and ate of his flesh. Cataline had corrupted great part of the Roman youth by indulging their desires in every form of pleasure, providing them wine and women, and setting no bounds to his expenses for these purposes. All Tuscany was prepared for the revolt, and most of Cisalpine Gaul. The vast inequality of the citizens in point of property prepared Rome too for a change.

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a strong fort to sally out from, and with that view stood for the consulship. Many persons of virtue and honour, perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline was baffled, and Cicero and Caius Antonius appointed consuls; though Cicero's father was only of the equestrian order, and his competitors of patrician families.

Catiline's conspiracy, which at first had been intimidated and discouraged, began to recover its spirits. The accomplices assembled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour, before the return of Pompey, who was said to be already marching homewards with his forces. But Catiline's chief motive for action was the dependance he had on Sylla's veterans. Though these were scattered all over Italy, the greatest and most warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and sharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had served with great distinction under Sylla; and now entering into Catiline's views, they came to Rome to assist in the approaching election; for he solicited the consulship again, and had resolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of that assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations of these

incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders, and apparitions. There were also intimations from men, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election ; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the informations he had received. Catiline, believing there were many in the senate who wanted a change, and at the same time being desirous to shew his resolution to his accomplices, who were present, answered with a calm firmness:—"As there are two bodies, one of which is feeble and decayed, but has a head ; the other strong and robust, but is without a head ; what harm am I doing, if I give a head to the body that wants it?" By these enigmatical expressions he meant the senate and the people. Consequently Cicero was still more alarmed. On the day of election he put on a coat of mail ; the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the Campus Martius. There he threw back his robe, and shewed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him ; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was thrown out again, and Silanus and Murena chosen consuls.

Not long after this, when the veterans were assembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first and greatest personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight ; and having called the porter, bade him awake his master, and tell him who attended. Their business was this : Crassus's porter brought him in a

packet of letters after supper, which he had received from a person unknown. They were directed to different persons, and there was one for Crassus himself, but without a name. This only Crassus read; and when he found that it informed him of a great massacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, he did not open the rest, but immediately went to wait on Cicero: for he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had some suspicions to remove which had arisen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero having consulted with them what was proper to be done, assembled the senate at break of day, and delivered the letters according to the directions, desiring at the same time that they might be read in public. They all gave the same account of the conspiracy.

Quintus Arrius, a man of prætorian dignity, moreover, informed the senate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and assured them that Manlius, with a considerable force, was hovering about those parts, and only waiting for news of an insurrection in Rome. On these informations, the senate made a decree, by which all affairs were committed to the consuls, and they were empowered to act in the manner they should think best for the preservation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the senate seldom issue, and never but in some great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was invested with this power, he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himself. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by such a multitude of people, that they filled great part of the forum. Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army; and ordered

Marcus and Cethegus to take their swords and go to Cicero's house early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying their compliments, they were to fall upon him and kill him. But Fulvia, a woman of quality, went to Cicero in the night to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard in particular against Cethegus. As soon as it was light, the assassins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them the more suspected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, which stands at the entrance of the *Via Sacra*, in the way to the Palatine hill. Catiline came among the rest, as with a design to make his defence ; but there was not a senator who would sit by him ; they all left the bench he had taken ; and when he began to speak, they interrupted him in such a manner that he could not be heard.

At length Cicero rose up, and commanded him to depart the city : "for," said he, "while I employ only words, and you weapons, there should at least be walls between us." Catiline, upon this, immediately marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the fasces and other ensigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. In this form he went to Manlius, and having assembled an army of twenty thousand men, he marched to the cities, in order to persuade them to revolt. Hostilities having thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's colleague, was sent against Catiline.

The senate met to deliberate on the punishment of the conspirators, and Silanus, being first asked his opinion, gave it for sending them to prison, and punishing them in the severest manner that was possible. The rest in their order

agreed with him, till it came to Caius Cæsar, who was afterwards dictator. Cæsar, then a young man, and just in the dawn of power, both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in, till he turned the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy. This was not observed by others, but Cicero had strong suspicions of him. He took care, however, not to give him a sufficient handle against him. Some say the consul had almost got the necessary proofs, and that Cæsar had a narrow escape. Others assert, that Cicero purposely neglected the informations that might have been had against him, for fear of his friends and his great interest ; for, had Cæsar been brought under the same predicament with the conspirators, it would rather have contributed to save than to destroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgment, he rose and declared, “not for punishing them capitally, but for confiscating their estates, and lodging them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero should pitch upon, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was conquered.” To this opinion, which was on the merciful side, and supported with great eloquence by him who gave it, Cicero himself added no small weight: for in his speech he gave the arguments at large for both opinions, first for the former, and afterwards for that of Cæsar. And all Cicero’s friends, thinking it would be less invidious for him to avoid putting the criminal to death, were for the latter sentence: inso-much that even Silanus changed sides, and excused himself by saying that he did not mean capital punishment, for that imprisonment was the severest which a Roman senator could suffer.

The matter thus went on till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital punishment ; and Cato supported

him, expressing in strong terms his suspicions of Cæsar; which so roused the spirit and indignation of the senate, that they made a decree for sending the conspirators to execution. Cæsar then opposed the confiscating their goods; for he said it was unreasonable, when they rejected the mild part of his sentence, to adopt the severe. As the majority still insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did not put in their prohibition; but Cicero himself gave up the point, and agreed that the goods should not be forfeited.

Many who had joined Catiline left him on receiving intelligence of this; and that traitor, giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was destroyed with his whole army.

Yet some were displeased with this conduct and success of Cicero, and inclined to do him all possible injury. At the head of this faction were some of the magistrates for the ensuing year; Cæsar, who was to be prætor, and Metellus and Bestia, tribunes. These last, entering upon their office a few days before that of Cicero's expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the *rostra*, and only gave him permission to take the oath upon laying down his office, after which he was to descend immediately. Accordingly, when Cicero went up it was expected that he would take the customary oath; but silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was, that "he had saved his country, and preserved the empire;" and all the people joined in it.

This exasperated Cæsar and the tribunes still more, and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things they proposed a decree for calling Pompey

home with his army to suppress the despotic power of Cicero. It was happy for him, and for the whole commonwealth, that Cato was then one of the tribunes; for he opposed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation that was much greater, and consequently broke their measures with ease. He made a set speech upon Cicero's consulship, and represented it in so glorious a light that the highest honours were decreed him, and he was called "the Father of his Country;" a mark of distinction which none ever gained before. Cato bestowed that title on him before the people, and they confirmed it.

After Clodius was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumstance nor person untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the consuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces. Cæsar was so much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius against him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his interest.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deserted, had recourse to the consuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely, but Piso behaved with some civility. He advised him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius's rage, to bear this change of the times with patience, and to be once more the saviour of his country, which, for his sake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this answer, Cicero consulted with his friends. Lucullus advised him to stay, and assured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion that it was best to fly, because the people would soon be desirous of his return, when they were weary of the extravagance and madness of Clodius. He approved of this last advice, and, taking a statue of Minerva which he had long kept in his house with

great devotion, he carried it to the Capitol and dedicated it there, with this inscription: "To Minerva, the Protectress of Rome." About midnight he privately quitted the city, and, with some friends who attended to conduct him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to pass from thence to Sicily.

It was no sooner known that he was fled than Clodius procured a decree of banishment against him, which prohibited him fire and water, and admission into any house within five hundred miles of Italy. But such was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burned his villas, and his house in Rome, and on the place where the latter stood erected a temple to Liberty. His goods he put up to auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared. By these means he became formidable to the patricians, and, having drawn the people with him into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called in question some of his acts and ordinances in the wars. As this exposed Pompey to some reflections, he blamed himself greatly for abandoning Cicero, and, entirely changing his plan, took every means for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, the senate decreed that no public business of any kind should be dispatched by their body till Cicero was recalled.

In the consulship of Lentulus, the sedition increased; some of the tribunes were wounded in the forum, and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the slain. The people began now to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the first who

ventured to call Clodius to answer for his violation of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey, with whose assistance he drove Clodius out of the forum, and then he summoned the citizens to vote. It is said that nothing was ever carried among the commons with so great unanimity ; and the senate, endeavouring to give still higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that their thanks should be given the cities which had treated him with kindness and respect during his exile, and that his town and country houses, which Clodius had demolished, should be rebuilt at the public charge.

Cicero returned sixteen months after his banishment, and such joy was expressed by the cities, so much eagerness to meet him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is less than the truth, though he said, "That Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome." Crassus, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this, he said, he was willing to oblige his son Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

After this Milo killed Clodius ; and being arraigned for the fact, he chose Cicero for his advocate. The senate, fearing that the prosecution of a man of Milo's spirit and reputation might produce some tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preside at this and the other trials, and to provide both for the peace of the city and the courts of justice,—in consequence of which, he posted a body of soldiers in the forum before day, and secured every part of it. This made Milo apprehensive that Cicero would be disconcerted at so unusual a sight, and less able to plead. He therefore persuaded him to come in a litter to the forum, and to

repose himself there till the judges were assembled and the court filled ; for he was not only timid in war, but he had his fears when he spoke in public, and in many causes he scarce left trembling even in the height and vehemence of his eloquence.

When he came out of the litter to open the cause of Milo, and saw Pompey seated on high, as in a camp, and weapons glistening all around the forum, he was so confounded that he could scarce begin his oration. For he shook, and his tongue faltered ; though Milo attended the trial with great courage, and had disdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. These circumstances contributed not a little to his condemnation. As for Cicero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the priests called Augurs, in the room of young Crassus, who was killed in the Parthian war. Afterwards the province of Cilicia was allotted to him ; and he sailed thither with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse. He had it in charge to bring Cappadocia to submit to king Ariobarzanes : which he performed to the satisfaction of all parties, without having recourse to arms. And finding the Cilicians elated on the miscarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleness of his government. He refused the presents which the neighbouring princes offered him. He excused the province from finding him a public table, and daily entertained at his own charge persons of honour and learning, not with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any man ever find him in bed ; for he rose early in the morning, and kindly received

those who came to pay their court to him, either standing or walking before his door. We are told, that he never caused any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent; never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added insult to punishment. He recovered the public money which had been embezzled, and enriched the cities with it. At the same time he was satisfied, if those who had been guilty of such frauds made restitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

In his return from his province he stopped at Rhodes, and afterwards made some stay at Athens; which he did with great pleasure, in remembrance of the conversations he had formerly had there. He had now the company of all that were most famed for erudition; and visited his former friends and acquaintance. After he had received all due honours and marks of esteem from Greece, he passed on to Rome, where he found the fire of dissension kindled, and everything tending to a civil war.

When the Senate decreed him a triumph, he said, "He had rather follow Cæsar's chariot-wheels in his triumph, if a reconciliation could be effected between him and Pompey." And in private he tried every healing and conciliating method, by writing to Cæsar, and entreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Cæsar was on his march to Rome, Pompey did not choose to wait for him, but retired, with numbers of the principal citizens in his train. Cicero did not attend him in his flight; and therefore it was believed that he would join Cæsar. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and was in the utmost anxiety. For, he says in his epistles, "Whither shall I turn. Pompey has the more honourable cause; but Cæsar manages his affairs with the greatest address, and is most

able to save himself and his friends. In short, I know whom to avoid, but not whom to seek." At last, one Trebatius, a friend of Cæsar's, signified to him by letter, that Cæsar thought he had reason to reckon him of his side, and to consider him as partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquillity, without any connexion with either party. Cicero was surprised that Cæsar did not write himself, and answered angrily "that he would do nothing unworthy of his political character." Such is the account we have of the matter in his Epistles.

However, upon Cæsar's marching from Spain, he crossed the sea, and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality; but Cato blamed him privately for taking this measure. "As for me," said he, "it would have been wrong to leave that party which I embraced from the beginning; but you might have been much more serviceable to your country and your friends, if you had stayed at Rome, and accommodated yourself to events: whereas now, without any reason or necessity, you have declared yourself an enemy to Cæsar, and are come to share in the danger with which you had nothing to do."

After the battle of Pharsalia (in which he was not present on account of his ill health), and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had considerable forces, and a great fleet at Dyrrhachium, desired Cicero to take the command, because his consular dignity gave him a legal title to it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but absolutely refused taking any further share in the war. Upon which, young Pompey and his friends called him traitor, drew their swords, and would certainly have dispatched him, had not Cato interposed and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got safe to Brundisium, and stayed there some time in expectation of Cæsar, who was detained by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and designed to proceed from thence by land to Brundisium, he set out to meet him ; not without hope, nor yet without some shame and reluctance at the thought of trying how he stood in the opinion of a victorious enemy before so many witnesses. He had no occasion, however, either to do or to say anything beneath his dignity. Cæsar no sooner beheld him, at some considerable distance, advancing before the rest, than he dismounted, and ran to embrace him ; after which he went on discoursing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued to treat him with great kindness and respect ; insomuch, that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the name of that great man, Cæsar, in his answer, entitled “*Anticato*,” praised both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero ; and said he greatly resembled Pericles and Theramenes.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the scene of public business, and bestowed his leisure on the young men who were desirous to be instructed in philosophy. As these were of the best families, by his interest with them he once more obtained great authority in Rome. He made it his business to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render the Greek terms of logic and natural philosophy in the Roman language. He rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Cæsar. He was always one of the first to vote him additional honours, and forward to say something new of him and his actions.

He had no share in the conspiracy against Cæsar, though he was one of Brutus’s particular friends ; and no man was

more uneasy under the new establishment, or more desirous of having the commonwealth restored. After the work was done by Brutus and Cassius, the friends of Cæsar assembled to revenge his death ; and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged in civil wars. Antony, who was consul, ordered a meeting of the senate, and made a short speech on the necessity of union. But Cicero expatiated in a manner suitable to the occasion ; and persuaded the senate, in imitation of the Athenians, to pass a general amnesty as to all that had been done against Cæsar, and to decree provinces to Brutus and Cassius. None of these things, however, took effect.

Subsequently Octavius Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus divided the empire among them, as if it had been a private estate. At the same time they proscribed about two hundred persons whom they had pitched upon for a sacrifice. The greatest difficulty and dispute was about the proscription of Cicero ; for Antony would come to no terms till he was first taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary, but Cæsar opposed them both. They had a private congress for these purposes near the city of Bononia, which lasted three days. The place where they met was over against their camps, a little island in the river. Cæsar is said to have contended for Cicero the first two days ; but the third he gave him up.

The assassins came upon him at Cajeta. They were commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Pompilius, a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a prosecution for parricide. The doors of the house being made fast, they broke them open. Still Cicero did not appear, and the servants who were left behind said they knew nothing of him. But a young man, named Philologus, his

brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune that they were carrying him in a litter through deep shades to the seaside. The tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. But Cicero perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered his servants to set the litter down ; and putting his left hand to his chin, as it was his custom to do, he looked steadfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of misery in his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the attendants of Herennius that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer dispatched him, while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, and, by Antony's command, his hands too, with which he had written the "Philippics." Such was the title he gave his orations against Antony, and they retain it to this day. When these parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. He no sooner beheld them than he cried out, "Now let there be an end of all proscriptions."

I am informed, that a long time after, Cæsar going to see one of his grandsons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe, which Cæsar perceived, and took it from him ; and after having run most of it over as he stood, he returned it, and said, "My dear child, this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his country."

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